SUFFRAGIST

July, 1920

Will Women Vote November 2?

Senator Harding Fails To Answer

Tennessee Calls Session

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(Incorporated 1918

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SUFFRAGIST

Official Organ of the National Woman's Party

VOL. VIII. No. 6 JULY, 1920

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Published monthly at Washington, D. C., by the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Lafayette Square.

Subscription rates, one dollar and a half per year, in advance. Single copies fifteen cents. Foreign subscriptions, two dollars per year, in advance.

Entered as second-class matter, November 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under the act of March 3, 1879.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

IN FOUR months the next President and Congress of the United States will be elected.

If women are excluded from a voice in the selection of the incoming government it will be an affront to their dignity as citizens and as human beings unparalleled in the history of the women of this country.

Ratification by one more state is all that is required to admit women to these elections. Failure to admit them can not therefore be other than deliberate. Any party which allows a man or group of men purporting to represent its policies to interfere with securing the one remaining ratification is deliberately withholding the congressional franchise from two-thirds of the women of the nation and debarring one-third from voting for the president.

For more than a year two Republican governors, those of Connecticut and of Vermont, have steadily refused to call into special session legislatures believed friendly to ratification. What has the Republican Party done to secure from these state executives action in line with its avowed support of woman suffrage? The chairman of the Party until recently "declined to interfere in local situations." Various party groups, state and national, have presented requests and resolutions, but how seriously can it be expected that these will be received if the national leaders are so reluctant to rebuke a governor that upon the mere request of a few delegates they remove from the suffrage resolution in the national platform whatever might be construed as a reference to his failure to conform to the Party's stand on the suffrage issue?

A comparison of the suffrage resolution as originally drawn by the Resolutions Committee of the Republican Convention and as passed by the Convention in Chicago, both of which are given in the convention story in this issue, offers clear indication that the suffrages of American women are of less importance to the Republicans than the susceptibilities of a single party official.

This opportunity of securing action from legislatures favoring ratification was possessed by the Republican Party alone, and the major responsibility therefore that Party's, until the situation was altered by the recent referendum decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. This decision is now held by many legal authorities to invalidate the provisions of the Tennessee and Florida constitutions which require that a legislature be elected after the submission of an amendment and before it is acted upon. If these opinions are sustained the governors of these Democratic states can immediately summon their legislatures and thus do their part to bring to an end the prolonged struggle for women's political freedom. The fact that Tennessee is a presidential suffrage state and therefore certain to ratify gives the Democratic Party the same opportunity and responsibility as that heretofore possessed by the Republicans alone.

Which of the parties will be the one to liberate women? It is a question of far-reaching influence in American politics.

Drawn for the SUFFRAGIST *by Miss Nina E. Allender*

Special Session in Tennessee!

On June twenty-third, President Wilson appealed for a special ratification session in Tennessee in the following telegram to Governor Roberts:

> "It would be a real service to the party and to the Nation if it is possible for you under the peculiar provisions of your State Constitution, having in mind the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case, to call a special session of the Legislature of Tennessee to consider the Suffrage Amendment. Allow me to urge this very earnestly."

Immediately upon the announcement that this telegram had been sent, but before the receipt of the actual message, Governor Roberts stated that he would comply with the desire of President Wilson and that a session of the legislature would be called "in plenty of time to permit the women to vote in the November elections."

When the President's telegram was read to Alice Paul, Chairman of the National Woman's Party over the telephone from the White House, she issued the following statement:

> "I am delighted at this evidence that the Democrats recognize the opportunity which they now have to give the final ratification and complete the enfranchisement of the women of the country. The National Woman's Party has contended that the Supreme Court decision made ratification by a special session of the legislature in Tennessee legal. We hope that action will be immediate."

On June twenty-fourth President Wilson sent the following letter to acting Attorney General William L. Frierson, asking for his opinion on the constitutionality of ratification by a special session of the Tennessee legislature. Mr. Frierson replied at once and rendered an opinion closely in line with the informal statement he had made to Miss Sue S. White, Tennessee chairman of the National Woman's Party, a few days before.

The correspondence between the President and the Acting Attorney General follows:

> The White House, 24 June, 1920.
>
> My dear Mr. Frierson:
>
> A constitutional question has arisen in Tennessee with regard to the power of the legislature to act at once upon the pending suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. A member of the Tennessee Congressional delegation has requested the view of the federal authorities on that question, and I would be very much obliged if you would look into the matter for me and let me have the view of the department, which I will be glad to communicate to the member of Congress who has made the inquiry.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> (Signed) WOODROW WILSON.
>
> Hon. William L. Frierson,
> Acting Attorney General.
>
> June 24, 1920.
>
> The President,
> The White House.
>
> Dear Mr. President:
>
> I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your note requesting my views as to the power of the present legislature of Tennessee, if called in extra session, to ratify the proposed suffrage amendment. I have recently discussed this question in some personal correspondence with the Attorney General of Tennessee, and hence am prepared to answer your inquiry promptly.
>
> The constitution of Tennessee contains a provision to the effect that no legislature shall act on an amendment to the Federal Constitution unless elected after the proposal of the amendment. The present Tennessee legislature was elected before the suffrage amendment was proposed.
>
> The ruling of the Supreme Court, however, in the recent Ohio cases, and the consideration which I gave to this question in preparing those cases for hearing, leave no doubt in my mind that the power of a legislature to ratify an amendment to the Federal Constitution is derived solely from the the people of the United States through the Federal Constitution and not from either the people or the constitution of a state. The power thus derived cannot be taken away, limited, or restricted in any way by the constitution of a state. The provision of the Tennessee constitution above referred to, if valid, would undoubtedly be a restriction upon that power. If the people of a state, through their constitution, can delay action on an amendment until after one election, there is no reason why they can not delay it until after two elections, or five elections, or until the lapse of any period of time they may see fit, and thus practically nullify the article of the Federal Constitution providing for amendments. I am therefore confident that if the Tennessee legislature is called in session it will have the clear power to ratify the amendment notwithstanding any provision of the Tennessee constitution.
>
> Respectfully,
>
> WM. L. FRIERSON, Acting Attorney General.

TENNESSEE, the Volunteer State, where women now have the right of presidential and municipal suffrage, may yet be the deciding factor that will release the voting strength of the women of eighteen non-suffrage states for the November elections. This is the opinion generally entertained by those who have looked into the question of whether or not the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Ohio referendum case sets aside the provision of the Tennessee constitution, which, until that decision, was regarded as an obstacle to ratification by the present legislature. The constitution of Tennessee says:

> "No convention or general assembly of this state shall act upon any amendment of the constitution of the United States proposed by Congress to the several states unless such convention or general assembly shall have been elected after such amendment is submitted."

As an indication of the way this provision is now regarded in Tennessee the Democratic state convention which met in Nashville on June 8 passed the following resolution:

> "We heartily favor the ratification of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States bestowing on women the equal right of suffrage with men. In order that they may be placed on equal basis with men and that no discrimination may be shown in favor of either, we favor the imposition of a poll tax on women; and in order that this may be done before the November elections in which the women will participate, and to prevent any discrimination for or against either of the sexes, we demand that the governor call an extra session of the legislature and include in the call the subject of imposing a poll tax on women.
>
> "In view of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Ohio case, the governor is requested, upon calling an extra session of the legislature, to include in the call the ratification of this amendment, provided it shall appear to be valid to do so."

As the opinion in the Ohio case is set out in full in another article in this issue of the SUFFRAGIST, it is not necessary to quote it here. Its application to the Tennessee constitutional restriction seems clear and unmistakable to the layman, and the best legal authorities take the same view. Opinions to this effect have been furnished the National Woman's Party by Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana and Hon. Joseph W. Folk of Washington, ex-governor of Missouri and a former Tennessean. Senator Walsh in his opinion says:

> "The conclusion seems inescapable that if the people of the state of Tennessee may declare in their constitution that action by the legislature of their state on an amendment of the Constitution of the United States duly submitted shall be ineffective unless the members of the legislature shall have been elected after the amendment is submitted, they might with equal reason and propriety provide that the general assembly should not act in the premises unless two elections or three or ten have intervened; or they might provide that the general assembly should not act unless the governor specifically recommended the ratification in a message to the assembly, or unless the specific question had, prior to the election, been submitted to a referendum of the electors of the state and approved by them. There is, in my mind, scarcely any limit to which one must not go logically with respect to conditions and restrictions which may be thrown about the act of ratification by the legislature through constitutional provisions, if we admit the validity of the specific restriction appearing in the Tennessee constitution."

Governor Folk expresses his views as follows:

> "This question seems to be settled by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States rendered June 1, 1920, in the case of *George S. Hawke* v. *Harvey C. Smith,* secretary of state of Ohio. In that case the Supreme Court of the United States held that the federal Constitution provides the method for its amendment, one of the methods being by the ratification of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. The court held in that case that this authority of the federal Constitution can not be limited or restricted in any way by provisions of state constitutions. * * *
>
> "If a state may restrict the power to ratify federal amendments by any legislature of that state, it may limit the power to ratify in other respects and thus nullify the provisions of the federal Constitution with respect to amendments. The provision of the Tennessee constitution in question is clearly an attempt to require that all proposals for the amendment of the federal Constitution shall be submitted to a vote of the people of the state as a condition precedent to ratification by the legislature of that state. This is what the Supreme Court of the United States has held could not legally be done. Therefore, in my opinion, ratification by a special session of the legislature, duly called by the governor, by proclamation including this subject, would answer the requirements of the federal Constitution and be a legal and binding ratification of the nineteenth amendment."

In view of the situation thus developed, the National Woman's Party has sent to Governor Roberts, through the Tennessee state chairman, a formal request for a special session of the legislature, in the following letter:

June 19, 1920.

My dear Governor Roberts:

Since the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on June 1st in the case of Hawke vs. Smith, I have consulted a number of reputable lawyers, including the Solicitor General of the United States, Wm. L. Frierson, Hon. Thos. J. Walsh, U. S. Senator from Montana, Hon. Jos. W. Folk of St. Louis and Washington, and Hon. Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City and New York, in regard to the effect that the decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case may have upon the provision of the Tennessee constitution which attempts to restrict the power of the general assembly of Tennessee to act upon amendments to the federal constitution, unless the general assembly shall have been elected after such amendment is submitted.

Acting upon the expert legal opinions thus gathered, I am, as Chairman of the Tennessee Branch of the National Woman's Party and in behalf of the national organization of the Woman's Party, submitting to you this formal request that you call the General Assembly of Tennessee into extraordinary session for the purpose of ratifying the nineteenth amendment (popularly called the suffrage amendment) to the United States Constitution.

This request is made with a full appreciation of of every doubt that could possibly arise as to the validity of ratification by the present Tennessee General Assembly, and after due consideration of the contingencies that might result should the doubt be resolved against the power of the legislature to act. In support of the request I am sending copies of opinions of Senator Walsh and Governor Folk. Every one with whom I have conferred has concurred in these opinions.

Your responsibility as Governor of Tennessee in this matter of national moment extends beyond the borders of our state, and I have therefore felt that you should have an expression representative of the nationally organized body of suffragists.

Sincerely yours,

SUE S. WHITE,

Picketing the Republican Party

WHY WE PICKETED--Statement by Alice Paul

Made in Chicago on June 7, to the New York Evening "World."

WE ARE picketing the Republican National Convention in Chicago because the Republican Party has become responsible for the continued delay in the ratification of suffrage.

After a year's campaign of unparalleled intensity we still need one state to complete ratification. The Republican Party could have given this one state by ratifying suffrage in Delaware, but the Republican Party defeated suffrage in Delaware. The Republican Party can give the one needed state by ratifying suffrage in Vermont or Connecticut, but the Republican governors in these States refuse to allow the legislatures to meet to consider suffrage.

We have come to Chicago, not to secure more resolutions; we have had enough of resolutions that are not backed by deeds. We have come to protest against delay and to demand effective action from the Republican Party on suffrage.

HAVE you ever stood on the self-same spot for hour after hour, while a sweltering sun mercilessly beat down upon the top of your unprotected head?

Probably you haven't, but if your imagination is good, you can understand the task undertaken and carried out by a group of some two hundred suffrage pickets during the strenuous days of the Republican convention in Chicago.

Milton has a well-known line about those "who only stand and wait" which perhaps only a suffrage picket can fully appreciate. Day after day, when tired women came in after a stand of three or fours hours outside the Coliseum to drop in utter fatigue on a camp chair in the little phonograph shop across the way which served as headquarters for the Woman's Party, they declared that "merely standing" was the most difficult task they had ever undertaken. Yet they went back.

Older women stood the test as well as the young. That wonderful little pioneer, Reverend Olympia Brown, more than eighty years old, with another splendid pioneer, Mrs. Anna N. Kendall of Alabama, almost eighty, stood for hour after hour in the sun, refusing offers of seats as they fittingly held the oldest of the picket banners, "How long must women wait for liberty?"

I stood for a very short time on the picket line, but I stood long enough to know how it feels. For the first half hour it is rather pleasant. You enjoy the crowds passing by, the policemen who stop to chat and even the delegates who shake angry fists in your face.

Then you begin to shift from foot to foot, the sun grows uncomfortably warm and you shade your face with the yellow banner in a vain attempt to stop the perspiration which starts from every pore. Soon one's shoes feel tight and feet begin to ache to the point of torture. After several hours, your feet get numb, as though made of wood, and the discomfort is so acute that merely to be cool, and to sit down, seems the very height of heavenly bliss, longed for but too good to grasp.

Perhaps this is rather a detailed description of the discomforts of picketing, but it is a necessary background for a picture whose whole impression is one of beauty and indomitable courage.

The picketing began with the beginning of the convention on June 8. Preparations had been going on for about a week before. The decision to carry the suffrage issue and the message of the Republican party's responsibility for the suffrage blockade up to the very doors of its national convention was made when it became evident that ratification would fail in Delaware. Miss Paul's appeal to members of the Woman's Party for money and for their help in the picketing demonstration was answered by promises of help, and at once the work of preparing banners, getting housing accommodations in crowded Chicago and establishing temporary headquarters there was under way.

Miss Anita Pollitzer, national organizer, took charge of the job of fitting each picket into a room or house—an enormous task considering the fact that reservations in Chicago had been spoken for weeks in advance and that hotel space was almost unobtainable. Aided by a local committee, of which Mrs. Clarence Darrow was the leader, Miss Pollitzer soon had rooms tabulated and assigned. Through the generosity of Mrs. John Black and Mrs. Henry Love the Woman's Party was given the use of a large and beautiful house for the use of the pickets. In this Miss Pollitzer installed row after row of cots, dormitory fashion. Then from the Salvation Army she secured the loan of enough sheets and pillow cases and blankets to furnish these cots. Accommodations for as many as forty women were in this way arranged.

The week before the convention opened was spent by national officers of the Woman's Party in continuing the effort to have the various Republican leaders and presidential candidates use their influence with Governor Clement of Vermont to call the special session needed to give the thirty-sixth state. Senator Johnson, General Wood and Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania were among those who promised to wire Governor Clement and issued public appeals on behelf of the action desired by suffragists.

Senator Johnson said:

Just as the convention thought all factions were satisfied, suffragists flung over the balcony their yellow banner—"We Demand the 36th State."

"I hope the Republican party will not fail to use all possible power to see that Vermont ratifies the suffrage amendment immediately. I will do what I can to effect this result."

General Wood's appeal was:

"It seems to me of the greatest importance that the Republican party put its power behind the immediate ratification of the suffrage amendment in Vermont. We should see to it that the women of the nation are enfranchised at once, thus securing to the party the prestige of this final act of justice. I will do all I can to aid this movement."

Governor Sproul hoped:

"that Vermont, which next to Pennsylvania only has been the most steadfast Republican state, will ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment the earliest possible day. It would help mightily if Governor Clement could see his way clear to call a special session while the Republican convention is meeting in Chicago. I am sure the women's vote will be an asset to the Republican party in the nation."

The first day of the convention arrived, however, and no special session had been called. The picket line began to form.

Marshaled by Miss Mabel Vernon of Wilmington, Delaware, the long white-clad line of suffrage pickets, carrying proudly their purple, white and gold banners, left the little Headquarters directly opposite the Coliseum and marched slowly across the street to the convention hall. Walking in single file the length of the building, the women took their stand at intervals of a few feet along its whole length, their banners forming the one spot of brilliant color against the slate-gray walls of the Coliseum.

Interspersed among the picket banners were banners bearing a message directed to the Republican party.

"The Republican party has the power to enfranchise women. When will it do so?" said a banner in the hands of Miss Mary Ingham of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania chairman of the Woman's Party.

"We have had enough resolutions. Give us the thirty-sixth state," carried by Miss Doris Stevens of Omaha, was the message of a banner stationed at one side of the entrance to the Coliseum.

Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer of New York City reminded the delegates of the strong suffrage principles of their great leader, Colonel Roosevelt, in a banner which read:

"Theodore Roosevelt advocated woman suffrage. Has the Republican party forgotten the principles of Theodore Roosevelt?"

Banner after banner pointedly recalled to Republican leaders the fact that one state is still needed to complete

ratification and enfranchise the women of the country. The specific charge against the party, that it is blocking suffrage in Connecticut and Vermont, was emphasized in this banner:

"We protest against the continued disfranchisement of women, for which the Republican party is now responsible.
"The Republican party defeated ratification of suffrage in Delaware.
"The Republican party is blocking suffrage in Vermont.
"The Republican party is blocking suffrage in Connecticut.
"When will the Republican party stop blocking suffrage?"

This banner was carried by Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett of Hartford, Conn., treasurer of the Connecticut branch of the Woman's Party; by Miss Catherine Flanagan, also of Hartford, and by Miss Lou Daniel of Vermont.

Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas Said of the Pickets:

"We Republicans who are suffragists, feel strongly with the sentiment on the picket banners, that the thirty-sixth state should be given at once. The picket banners ought to be heeded by us who are on the inside, for 17,000,000 women will vote in these elections. In view of this it is wise politically for the Republicans Party not only to pass a resolution urging immediate ratification in the thirty-sixth state but to back the resolution up with Party pressure."

Unlike the police of Washington and Boston, those of Chicago were friendly, polite and helpful. They stopped the traffic to allow the suffragists to cross the street. They kept bystanders out of the way of the picket line rather than pushing aside the pickets to make room for passers-by. They chatted with the members of the picket line, questioned them about suffrage and brought them news of the happenings inside the Coliseum. Some of them even held banners in an emergency. By doing everything in their power to help the Woman's Party place its message before the Republican convention the Chicago police proved that disorder during a Woman's Party suffrage demonstration is the product, not of the demonstration itself, but of police interference.

During the first two days of the convention, the same banners were held continuously. During the third day a new banner was introduced:

"VOTE AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS LONG AS IT BLOCKS SUFFRAGE."

This one banner, repeated thirty times in the hands of thirty women, greeted Republicans on the third day of their convention.

Its effect was instantaneous, but unexpectedly different on different people. Several delegates shook their fists in the faces of the pickets. On the other hand, Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey and ex-Governor Stokes of that state came in on that same day to "pay their respects to Miss Paul." Senator Ball of Delaware and Senator Elkins of West Virginia greeted Miss Pollitzer on the picket line that day with the question: "Why don't you put on your banners that *we* helped you? We worked hard in our states."

Mrs. Douglas Robinson stopped to encourage one of the pickets who held at the entrance to the Coliseum a banner reading, "The Republican party has the power to enfranchise women. When will it do so?"—with

"You are the heroes of the convention. My brother, Theodore Roosevelt, always believed in you. I admire your courage."

Governor John H. Bartlett of New Hampshire, delegate from his state, stopped Miss Sallie Hovey, New Hampshire member of the Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, to congratulate her on her stand and to whisper that he had personally wired his fellow governor, Clement of Vermont, urging a special session of the legislature in that state.

Most important of all, prominent Republican women began to join the picket line. Mrs. H. O. Havemyer of New York City picketed from the very beginning and also contributed $1,000. Mrs. Ernest Lewis of Indianapolis, wife of the first vice-chairman of the Republican national committee, joined the picket line on Wednesday with her mother and sister, Mrs. John Carey and Miss Martha Carey of Indianapolis. Mrs. Verner Reed of Denver, Colorado, vice-chairman for her state of the Republican National Ways and Means Committee, picketed on Wednesday and contributed $1,000 toward the Women's Party campaign fund.

Commenting upon her picketing, Mrs. Reed said:

"As a Republican woman I wish to protest at the failure of the Republican party to end our long struggle for suffrage by giving us either Connecticut or Vermont as the thirty-sixth state."

Mrs. Walter C. Jackson, an alternate delegate to the Republican convention from Tennessee, was another convert from inside the Coliseum to the picket line outside.

Susan B. Anthony's Message on the Picket Line

"No self-respecting woman should wish or work for the success of a party that ignores her sex."—Susan B. Anthony, in 1872 and 1894.

"I am picketing my own party," she explained, "for its own good as well as for the good of women."

Mrs. John Gordon Battelle, treasurer of the Woman's Republican Club of Ohio, picketed and contributed $500.

Mrs. Howard Kretchmar of Chicago, member of the Wood Hospitality Committee; Miss Mary Phelps Morgan of Simsbury, Conn., cousin of Gifford Pinchot; Mrs. Mary Giles Howard of Chattanooga, Tenn., vice-chairman for her

state of the National Republican Ways and Means Committee; Mrs. Bertha C. Molier of Minneapolis, appointed an assistant sergeant-at-arms at the convention, are other women who came expecting to take part in the affairs of their party but who remained to stand in a picket line in protest against their party's attitude toward suffrage.

Still other women of Republican sympathies contributed toward the expenses of the pickets and added their word of encouragement. Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood of Connecticut reviewed the picket line each day and contributed $1,000. Mrs. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, another well-known Republican woman, contributed the same amount.

A small group of pickets at the last session of the convention hung a banner from the balcony facing the speaker's platform and the thousands of people at the convention read the words of the banner:

"WHY DOES THE REPUBLICAN PARTY BLOCK SUFFRAGE?
"WE DO NOT WANT PLANKS.
"WE DEMAND THE 36TH STATE."

This comment was pointed at the complacent attitude of the party leaders after they had thrown to women a sop in the form of the following plank in their platform:

> "We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We earnestly hope that Republican legislatures in states which have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment will ratify the amendment to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920, which is so important to the welfare of our country."

The history of this plank, which is a compromise of the one first drawn up by the resolutions committee, is significant. In its first form the plank as given to the press on June 10, read:

> "We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican party. We urge Republican governors whose states have not yet acted upon the suffrage amendment to immediately call special sessions of their legislatures for the purpose of ratifying said amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election which is so important to the welfare of our country."

As soon as the platform with this wording was reported by the Chicago papers, members of the Connecticut delegation to the convention marched to leaders of the platform committee.

"This is a gross insult to our governor," they are reported to have exclaimed. "We want it changed." Accordingly the words "Republican governors" became "Republican legislatures," and the susceptibilities of Governor Holcomb were spared. How well the shoe must have fit!

What was accomplished by the picketing at Chicago?

The very first hint that the picketing was planned drew from the Republican national committee, meeting in Chicago on June 2, the following resolution, offered by Coleman du Pont and passed unanimously:

> "Whereas the Republican national committee at its regular meetings thas repeatedly endorsed woman suffrage and the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States and has called upon the Congress to pass and the states to ratify such amendment, and
>
> "Whereas such amendment still lacks ratification by a sufficient number of states to become a law, therefore be it resolved by the Republican national committee that the nineteenth constitutional amendment be and the same is hereby endorsed by this committee and such Republican states as have not already done so are now urged to take such action by their governors and their legislatures as will assure the ratification of such amendment and establish the right of equal suffrage at the earliest possible time."

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Connecticut had a delegation outside as well as inside the convention—Miss Elsie Hill, of Norwalk; Miss Catherine Flanagan and Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, of Hartford.

Senator Harding with the suffrage delegation. Front row left to right—Mrs. John Gordon Battelle, of Columbus, Ohio; Senator Harding, Alice Paul, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, of New York City; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Wilmington, Delaware chairman of the Woman's Party; and Mrs. Genevieve Allen, of San Francisco, California chairman of the Woman's Party.

Senator Harding "Listens" and Evades

SENATOR HARDING, candidate of his party for the highest office in the land, chosen to represent to the people of the nation the definitely formulated principles of Republicanism, is powerless to see that these principles—when they apply to suffrage—are carried into effect or even that officials of his party do not obstruct their fulfillment.

This admission on the part of the Republican candidate for the presidency was made to a delegation of the Woman's Party representing twenty-two states which met him in his office on June twenty-second, and requested that he use his influence to secure the thirty-sixth state.

"Nothing would please me more," the Senator said, "than to have ratification made effective to give American womanhood full participation in the elections of next November."

Not "With Propriety"

But—"This desire, sincerely spoken, does not conflict with my determination that I could not, with propriety, attempt to force any state executive to hasten action in violation of his own sense of duty."

This reply was the disappointing result of the interview with Senator Harding, which was arranged by Mrs. Genevieve Allen of San Francisco, Califorina chairman of the National Woman's Party, on behalf of a large and representative group of women.

Mrs. Allen, as an official representative of the Woman's Party, had called upon the Senator the week before, to ask him, on behalf of the millions of unenfranchised women in this country, what the Republican party and he, as its leader, would do to secure the thirty-sixth state through a special session in Connecticut or Vermont. Senator Harding asked her to wait for a definite reply, saying that he felt he owed his party councillors the courtesy of consulting with them before he made a public pronouncement on the matter. Mrs. Allen then made the appointment for the group of officers and members of the Woman's Party on Tuesday, June 22, to receive the Senator's answer.

It was an impressive and serious group of women, all of them leaders in their own communities and many of them Republican, which gathered in Senator Harding's office on the ground floor of the Senate Office Building that afternoon. They had come to hear a statement which might bring glad tidings to millions of waiting women, which might be epochal in its effect on the fortunes of women, of a great party, and of the nation.

The group which left that office an hour later, at the request of Senator Harding was tired and disillusioned.

Mrs. John Gordon Battelle

They had heard the head of a great party declare himself powerless to carry into effect, in states where his party wields undisputed sway, the suffrage plank of his platform, adopted two weeks ago in a convention in which he participated.

"I can hardly believe," said Alice Paul, chairman of the Woman's Party and leader of the delegation, after the interview had ended, "that a candidate nominated on a specific platform, could within two weeks after that platform's formal adoption, declare himself unable to do anything to induce subordinate members of his party to carry out one of the platform's principle planks.

"Does the Republican platform, which commits the party to immediate ratification of the suffrage amendment, have so little weight with Senator Harding that he cannot even request a state governor to cease obstructing this platform?

Powerless In Vermont

"The Republican party is now in power in Vermont. If it cannot carry out its platform there, what reason is there to suppose that if placed in power throughout the nation, it would fulfill its platform's promises?

"Our delegation to Senator Harding today," Miss Paul added, "was the first step in a campaign to bring home to him and to the country his responsibility as head of his party for action on the suffrage amendment. Until he recognizes his responsibility and acts effectively upon it, we shall not be content."

Alice Paul introduced in turn Mrs. Albion Lang of Windsor, Vermont; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed of Norwalk, Connecticut; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Wilmington, Delaware—all three representing Republican states which have failed to ratify and in which they asked Senator Harding to use his influence to secure ratification.

Representing women voters, Miss Paul introduced Mrs. John Carey of Indianapolis; Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of New York; Miss Emma Wold of Portland, Oregon. Miss Sue White of Nashville, Tennessee; Miss Mary Ingham of Philadelphia; and Mrs. John Gordon Battelle of Columbus, Ohio, represented states which have ratified but where women will not vote unless the amendment is completely ratified. Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Maryland chairman of the Woman's Party, was the last speaker.

Throughout the interview Senator Harding showed himself, to quote his own phrase, the "listening candidate." He was tactful, almost painfully polite, breaking into cordiality only when Mrs. Albion Lang confessed to being born in Ohio and to a nephew, Walter F. Brown of Toledo, Harding's floor leader at the Republican convention.

"If you have as good political sagacity as Walter Brown, you'll star," Senator Harding assured Mrs. Lang. "Give me the chance," she retorted.

In his informal replies to the women he took for granted their arguments as to the justice and expediency of suffrage action by the Republican party, reiterating constantly his own position of powerlessness in the situation.

After ending his formal statement with the sentence, "If any state executive should ask my opinion about extraordinary efforts to consummate suffrage, I frankly will commend the thing you desire," he added, "I have a suspicion that the advice which might come with propriety will be sought."

"Do you mean," said Miss Paul, "That you expect to have good news on the suffrage question?"

Senator Harding replied, "Yes."

"May we come back within a week to get that good news?" Miss Paul asked.

"People charged with responsibility so large as comes with this position can't be precipitate," was Senator Harding's noncommittal reply.

To an added plea for more definite word, he said:

With Tact and Discretion

"I can say nothing more definite but I know that men who believe as you do are tactfully, discreetly and becomingly engaged in an effort to secure what you urge."

To Senator Harding's repeated assurance that the Republican platform would not be meaningless as construed by the Republican candidate, Miss Paul answered:

Mrs. Genevieve Allen

"But you are appealing to voting women to elect candidates on the basis of this platform. If you can take no steps to see that it is carried out in states where the Republican party is now in power, what guaranty have we that, if put in power nationally, you will carry your platform into effect?"

With this, the interview terminated on Senator Harding's motion.

In brief, the remarks addressed to Senator Harding by the members of the delegation were as follows:

Mrs. Genevieve Allen, of San Francisco, California state chairman of the National Woman's Party, and a member of the California women's legislative council:

"When I asked you two days ago, Senator Harding," she said, "what action you would take to secure the special session in Vermont which that state's Repub-

lican governor has so far refused to call, you said that you wished first to consult with your party leaders before making a definite reply, and asked me to come again in two days.

"We have come today, therefore, to receive, on behalf of the disfranchised women of your state and your country, your reply as to what you and your party will do to enfranchise these women. We women have done all that we can to end our long suffrage struggle. The power is now in your hands. Will you use it?"

Mrs. Albion Lang of Windsor, Vermont, member National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party:

> "Not everyone knows that Vermont was the first state in the Union prohibiting human slavery. It seems remarkable that it should be so very far in the front in that respect yet so far distant in lifting the ban which is almost slavery from women.
>
> "We have a Republican governor but he has not been any special credit to us. To the delegations asking for special sessions he replied that he could not call a special session unless he had a request from all the people, then quickly explained that he meant the men not women. You, as the nominee of the Repubilcan party, we believe to be the only person who can influence him at all to call the special session needed to enfranchise women.
>
> "The force of women is needed by the Republican party. Women of Vermont want to vote the Republican ticket and the Republican party needs their support."

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Norwalk, Connecticut, historian of the Woman's Party:

> "My father was for twenty-one years a Republican member of Congress and I myself was sent out in 1916 by the Republican National Committee to campaign for Hughes. Although of Republican affiliations I feel that the Republican party in Connecticut and the nation has duped women in every way. The Republican National convention vitiated the suffrage plank first adopted, by changing 'urge' to 'earnestly hope,' so giving the governor not a party mandate, but a pious wish.
>
> "Mr. Rohrback, chairman of our Republican state committee, has said that he and Mr. Hays are agreed that it is for the best interests of the Republican party that women in Connecticut be not allowed to vote. The secretary of our state committee, Major Buckley, said that the Republican party would fight ratification in the courts should it be passed by the legislature. We have found that the party leaders of the Republican party, led by the governor of Connecticut, have consistently fought suffrage in our state."

Senator Harding interrupted here to say, "You mean a small group of the Republican party is opposing."

> "No, I mean the party leaders," Mrs. Weed retorted. "At the recent state Republican convention the party honored with rewards the men who have been backing the governor in his opposition to suffrage. It is in your hands Senator Harding, to save the Republican party from suicide in Connecticut. All women know that your wishes will be carried out. If you, as the head of your ticket want a special session, it will be called."

Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, of New York City, counsel for the American Nurses' Association and one of the founders of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City:

> "I have yet to cast my first presidential vote. I have a Republican father, brother and husband, but I am not yet hitched, and many of the women of New York are in that same state. New York casts the largest electoral vote in the country. The woman's vote may easily tip the scales in New York."

Mrs. John Gordon Batelle, of Columbus, Ohio, President of the Ohio Woman's Republican Club, vice-chairman for her state of the Republican national ways and means committee and member of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, said:

> "I shall not get over it, Senator Harding, if I don't have a chance to vote for you. Many of the women of my state feel that way. Like many women in Ohio I am naturally Republican in sympathy and would like to work for the success of the Republican party. But until I am enfranchised, I shall have to devote my time to work for suffrage and my work for the Republican party will be less effective because its record on this question does not satisfy me or the other women of the nation."

Mrs. John Carey of Indianapolis, member of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party and prominent Republican woman, whose son-in-law, Ernest Lewis is a foremost Republican leader in his state and in the nation, said:

> "I speak from a deep interest in the welfare of the Republican party. The future of the Re-

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Suffrage and the Democratic Convention

DURING the Democratic Convention, the National Woman's Party will maintain headquarters in San Francisco, from which Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman, will direct a campaign upon the delegates and party leaders to persuade them to exert all possible pressure upon the remaining Democratic states for the thirty-sixth ratification. Action by North Carolina, where a special session will meet shortly after the convention, and by Tennessee, if it is finally decided that ratification by that state this year is legal, will be especially urged.

The delegates to the convention have already been interviewed in their own states by local members of the Woman's Party, who have pointed out to them the opportunity which the Democratic party now has to redeem its former suffrage record by securing the final ratification.

Mrs. Baker's committee, which will be in charge of the activities of the Woman's Party during the convention, will include: Mrs. W. G. Brown, West Virginia chairman for the Woman's Party; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, national ratification chairman; and Miss Betty Gram, of Portland, Oregon, national organizer.

New Swedish Marriage Bill

THE bill remaking the law governing the legal position of husband and wife, which is now before the Swedish parliament, is a matter of great concern to women. It is intended to remedy undesirable conditions under which women have long been suffering.

The chief characteristic of the position of the wife under the present law is that she is under the guardianship of the husband, a guardianship which gives him full right of decision on all family matters, including matters regarding the children. It gives him, moreover, full control of the economic assets of both parties, and it deprives the wife of legal capacity possessed before marriage.

Under the new bill the guardianship of the husband over the wife is done away with. Its removal is based on the legitimate right of the wife for independence and equality and on the argument that "a decision regarding mutual affairs of wife and husband should, ethically, be the result of a concerted understanding."

Wives Are Now Persons

With the elimination of guardianship the wife acquires the same legal position as a single woman; she no longer requires the consent and approval of the husband to enter into an agreement, to go bail, or to carry on business; she may dispose freely of her time and energy and may act as her own spokesman. A mother who, as a widow, was the guardian of her children, will not under the new law lose this privilege by re-marriage, since, under the present plan a wife, as well as a widow or unmarried woman, may stand as the guardian of her own children and other minors.

As regards the right of decision in individual affairs of husband and wife the general practice is far ahead of the provisions of the ancient law, though it is still in force. It is relatively seldom that the husband today makes use of his right as such in the choice of residence, servants, order of daily life, *et cetera*. The fact remains, however, that the control implied in the guardianship gives the relations between husband and wife a character which ill agrees with the fundamental principle of matrimony. Moreover there are instances where the idea of the sway of the husband over the wife is not only an outrage to the latter but also a bitter reality. Legally the question of the right of decision in marriage comes to a point when the question of responsibility and resultant matters are at issue in divorce cases or cases of separation. According to the old conception of the husband's absolute right of decision the responsibility was regarded as resting upon the wife if, in a dispute, she refused conform to the will of the husband. This conception is abandoned under the new bill.

The kind of conflicts where the legal right of decision belonging to the husband presses the wife hardest are doubtless those relating to important decisions regarding the children. The present law affords no legal rights to the mother as against a father who, for instance, may want to exploit the working energy of the child in a manner injurious to its health and morals or who denies the child a suitable education. She cannot even prevent the father from sending the child away from home against her will to be educated elsewhere and, in cases where the parents do not live together, the father is free to decide whether the children are to stay with him or with the mother.

A special bill on "children in marriage" introduced simultaneously with the new marriage bill provides for relations between parents and children. The priority of the father is here retained on one special point. If a child has a fortune of its own, the father, alone, shall act in this particular as guardian, it being deemed advisable, on practical grounds, to place the administration of the estate of the child under one executor. In all other matters relating to the child the principle of equality between the parents shall apply.

If, in a vital matter, the will of the parents should be opposed, a decision must be reached which has primarily the best interests of the child in view. The bill, as a last resort only, summons the parents to the court, which, if the welfare of the child requires it, may empower one of the parents to exercise the right of decision over the child or simply to decide the particular question at issue.

The new bill also affords the parents a chance to be assisted without resorting to the court. This chance lies in the establishment of a mediation institution to which appeal must be made before legal action is taken. In each municipality one mediator at least, with official authority, is available, the minister being self-appointed to the office. The municipality shall, however, have a right to appoint additional special mediators, no fewer in each case than two, one man and one woman.

Economic Equality in Marriage

As regards economic matters, the bill differs on many points from the laws in force under which property, as a rule, is held in common, but controlled by the husband, who therefore is the real owner, while the wife, though she is entitled to a share in the property upon dissolution of the marriage, is economically dependent. While it is true that the present law offers the wife a chance to safeguard her rights by a pre-marriage contract, this means of protection is resorted to in relatively few cases.

The system proposed under the new law may be described as a system with divided property control and with community of marriage rights. Each party shall own and administer everything that he or she has acquired before or after the marriage. Out of this property, all debts of the owner—and of the owner only—must be paid for. Stili the property has not the character of "individual" property, the very act of wedding giving each party a share in the property of the other, called "marriage right." The marriage right enjoins upon each party a duty, as the text of the law puts it, "to take so good care of the marriage goods as not wantonly to diminish it to the detriment of the other party." In case either party jeopardize through mismanagement or carelessness—for instance by wanton speculations, gambling, extravagant gifts and the like—the economy of the family, the marriage right enables the other party

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No Referendum On Amendments

BY a unanimous opinion rendered on June 1st, the Supreme Court of the United States settled, in favor of the suffrage amendment, the question raised by the opponents of suffrage as to the validity of the ratification of the suffrage amendment by the Ohio legislature. It was contended by the opponents of suffrage that ratification of the amendment by Ohio would not be complete until the ratification by the legislature had been sustained by a referendum vote of the male electors of the state.

This question had been for several months perplexing to the friends of suffrage and threatening to force a campaign for an additional state's ratification before the November elections. Anti-suffragists in Ohio had succeeded in filing a referendum petition in that state and a similar petition was being circulated in Oklahoma, where the time for filing expired on June 8th. With both these petitions pending, calling for referendum elections in November, suffragists would have faced a treble necessity. We would have had to campaign for states to ratify in place of Ohio and Oklahoma. We would have had to campaign for a favorable vote in these two states in the referendum elections. We would have had to enter suit in Oklahoma to uphold the legislature's action, as well as to combat at every turn, through the courts, the contention of the anti-suffragists that ratification had not been completed—even after winning the thirty-sixth state. Anti-suffragists have claimed, also, that petitions for referenda would be filed in Maine, and New Mexico, but these claims have not been regarded seriously. The Supreme Court of Maine had declared a referendum on a federal amendment illegal in that state, and the New Mexico law provided that the petition must be signed by 10 per cent of the voters of each of three-fourths of the counties and in the aggregate by 10 per cent of the voters of the state.

There were two cases, styled identically Hawke v. Smith, one involving the prohibition amendment and one the suffrage amendment, presenting like issues, decided by the Court on the same day. In the suffrage case (No. 601), Mr. Justice Day, speaking for the Court, said:

> "This case presents the same question as that already decided in No. 582 (the prohibition case), the only difference being that the amendment involved is the proposed Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women. The Supreme Court of Ohio upon the authority of its decision in Hawke v. Smith (No. 582) held that the constitution of the state requiring such submission by a referedum to the people, did not violate Article V of the Federal Constitution, and for that reason rendered a like judgment as in No. 582.
>
> "For the reasons stated in our opinion in No. 582 the judgment of the Supreme Court of Ohio must be reversed."

After setting out the facts of the case in No. 582, the opinion of the Court proceeds:

> "The question for our consideration is: Whether the provision of the Ohio constitution, adopted at the general election, November, 1918, extending the referendum to the ratification by the General Assembly of the proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution is in conflict with Article V of the Constitution of the United States. The amendment of 1918 provides:
>
> " 'The people also reserve to themselves the legislative power of the referendum on the action of the General Assembly ratifying any proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States.'
>
> "Article V of the Federal Constitution provides: 'The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.'
>
> "The Constitution of the United States was ordained by the people, and, when duly ratified, it became the constitution of the people of the United States. *McCullough* v. *Maryland*, 4 Wheaton, 316, 402. The states surrendered to the general government the power specifically conferred upon the nation, and the Constitution and the laws of the United States are the supreme law of the land.
>
> "The framers of the Constitution realized that it might in the progress of time and the development of new conditions require changes, and they intended to provide an orderly manner in which these could be accomplished; to that end they adopted the Fifth Article.
>
> "This article makes provision for the proposal of amendments either by two-thirds of both houses of Congress, or on application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states; thus securing deliberation and consideration before any change can be proposed. The proposed change can only become effective by the ratification of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, or by conventions in a like number of states. The method of ratification is left to the choice of Congress. Both methods of ratification, by legislatures or conventions, call for action by deliberative assemblages representative of the people, which it was assumed would voice the will of the people.
>
> "The Fifth Article is a grant of authority by the people to Congress. The determination of the method of ratification is the exercise of a national power, specifically granted by the Constitution; that power is conferred upon Congress, and is limited to two methods, by action of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or conventions in a like number of states. *Dodge* v. *Woolsey*, 18 Howard, 331, 348. The framers of the Constitution might have adopted a different method. Ratification might have been left to a vote of the people, or to some authority of government other than that selected. The language

(*Continued on page* 144)

Women Candidates for Congress

Rose Schneiderman

THE first woman to be nominated by a party for a United States senatorship is Rose Schneiderman, President of the New York State Women's Trade Union League, candidate of the Labor Party. Her prospective Republican opponent is Senator Wadsworth.

Miss Schneiderman was born in Russia but was brought to America when three years old. At a little over thirty she is an international figure in the labor world. She was one of the two American women delegates to the Labor Congress held in Paris during the Peace Conference, and a delegate to the International Woman's Labor Conference at Washington in 1919.

This woman now running for senator ran errands in a store when she was thirteen. At sixteen she organized the girls in the cap factory where she was working. Whenever the men struck the girls were thrown out of work, but as they were unorganized they could make no demands and the men made none for them, so they did not share in the gains secured by the men. Rose put an end to this. In the first strike called after she had induced the girls to join the union, they went out with the men, and won a 20 per cent increase in pay and a half-holiday Saturday.

Miss Schneiderman worked for the nine-hour law for women until it was won, and then began at once to work for the eight-hour law. For six years she has been a leader in the fight for this and other protective legislation for women, which was embodied in the "Welfare Bills" which Speaker Sweet steered to defeat in committee during the past session.

"I am not a woman's candidate more than a man's candidate," Miss Schneiderman says, "but thanks to Senator Wadsworth's vote against the federal suffrage amendment and Speaker Sweet's enmity to the welfare bills, I expect to get a good many women's votes that would not ordinarily be cast for a Labor candidate. Labor Party principles so fully meet women's demands that there was no need to insert into the state platform any bait especially for women's votes. I shall campaign on the Labor Party platform as a whole."

ANNE MARTIN of Nevada, who made the pioneer campaign on the part of a woman for a seat in the United States Senate in 1918, is again running for that office.

In her last campaign as an Independent she polled 5,000 votes as against her successful opponent's 12,000, thereby cutting deeply into the Republican strength.

Miss Martin will attempt this year to secure the Republican nomination for Senator from Nevada, but failing that will run as an independent.

In announcing her platform she said:

"Privilege is making its final fight against the right of all who labor by hand or by brain to just returns for their labor, to a voice in the management of industry, and to equal opportunity to a socially good life.

Anne Martin

"We must take our stand on the side either of privilege or the worker. There is no middle ground. No one can honestly support both. I am against privilege."

Her platform is, in brief:

Opposition to the treaty with Germany and the League of Nations as a breeder of wars. Support of a league of peace of all nations.

Restoration of the rights of free speech, press and assembly.

Release of political prisoners and conscientious objectors, following the humane example of our associates in the war.

Recognition of the right of labor to bargain collectively and to strike.

Reduction of the high cost of living and the increase of production and trade through public ownership and operation of the railroads, strict government control of the meat-packing industry, government retention and development of all natural resources still publicly owned, government ownership and operation of a merchant marine, taxation of the 16,000 war millionaires and of war profits to pay the money cost of the war, taxation of wealth, taxation of land values and of other natural resources held for speculation.

Public protection of maternity and infancy, removal of children from industry and the public feeding of undernourished children.

A blanket enactment to eliminate all remaining discriminations against women in industry, civil service, education and public office.

Miss Martin led and won the fight for woman suffrage in Nevada, and for several years ably aided the campaign for the federal amendment.

IN Oklahoma Miss Alice Robertson of Muskogee has announced her candidacy for the Republican nomination for Congress. She was Postmistress of Muskogee during the Theodore Roosevelt Administration.

MEMBERS of the Non-Partisan League of the Third Nebraska District have nominated Mrs. Marie Weekes for Congress to run by petition.

Mrs. Weekes is the editor of a Norfolk (Nebraska) newspaper. She was defeated as a candidate for district delegate to the Democratic national convention.

MRS. HELEN C. STATLER is seeking the Republican nomination to Congress in the Third District of Michigan. Her platform is terse and inclusive:

"No hungry child in the United States.

"Equal educational opportunity for every boy and girl in the United States.

"Equal pay for equal work, and the budget system for the government.

"Reduction of the cost of living by closer cooperation between producer and consumer. General extension of the Agricultural Department."

DR. ESTHER LOVEJOY will run for Congress from Portland, Oregon, on the Democratic ticket. She will be opposed by Clinton N. McArthur, the Republican candidate. Dr. Lovejoy's initial public service was as the first woman health officer in Portland's history. During her term of office she made a record in securing a clean milk supply for the city. During the war Dr. Lovejoy served overseas with the American Women's Hospitals. She was always a zealous worker for suffrage in her own state.

International Conferences of Women

THE convention of the International Council of Women in Christiania, September 7, will mark the sixth meeting of women of the different nations within a year. The first was the International Conference of Women Physicians, held in September last year. The others are the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance congress just concluded in Geneva; the Young Women's Christian Association conference held recently in Genoa, the First International Congress of Working Women held in Washington, D. C., from October 28 to November 6, 1919; and the initial convention of the International Federation of University Women, which will meet in London the 7th of July.

Although the five conventions represent different phases of activity, all are actuated by a common purpose—the advancement of women.

The present broad interests of the women of all nations is indicated by the accomplishments of the recent congress of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance. The United States, every country in Europe except Belgium and Soviet Russia, and Egypt, China and Turkey were represented.

After a long discussion the congress passed a significant resolution asking that women have a part in the League of Nations. It was recommended that a conference of women be called annually to consider the status and welfare of women, and that the expenses of this conference be paid by the League of Nations.

The congress adopted a comprehensive woman's program demanding full political equality; full personal and civil rights for married women; equality in marriage and guardianship; nationality rights; equal opportunities in general and special education; equal opportunities for entering industries, professions, civil service, administrative and judicial functions; and equal pay for equal work. The convention's sentiment for a single standard of morality was embodied in a resolution which affirmed the belief that "laws which strike at women without touching men are ineffective and unjust." The program demands for illegitimate children the same right of maintenance and education as for legitimate children.

The future object of the Alliance was declared to be "to secure enfranchisement of the women of all nations by the promotion of woman suffrage, and also such other reforms as are necessary to establish real equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women." Particular attention was to be directed to the securing of suffrage in the Latin countries.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was re-elected president of the Alliance over her own protest. The place of the next congress has not been definitely chosen, but it will be some country in which woman suffrage is then still unattained.

The International Council of Women

The International Council of Women which meets this fall has much the same aims as the Geneva conference. Twenty-five countries and about seven million women will be represented. Ten delegates from the United States will attend. The National Council of Women of this country represents women's organizations having aggregate memberships of approximately one million. Mrs. Phillip North Moore of Washington, D. C., is president.

Delegates from the United States will visit different countries in Europe to observe the conditions prevailing in regard to women before going to the convention.

The resolutions to be considered include the endorsement of the League of Nations; the training of school girls in citizenship; the formation of an international committee on child welfare to cooperate with the League of Nations; the right of women to retain their own nationality in marriage; the endowment of motherhood; the appointment of women judges in juvenile courts; the legal right of married women to a just proportion of the husband's income; the consideration of an international language; equal moral standards; censorship of motion-picture films, and the institution of a common international standard of weights, measures, and money values.

International Federation of University Women

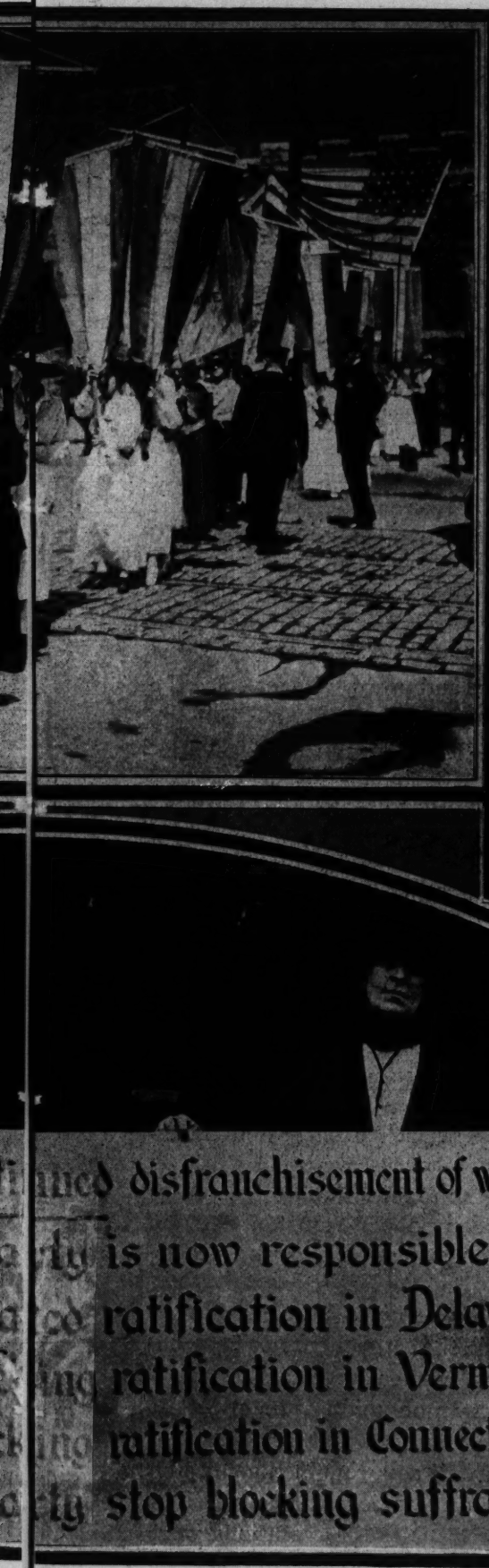
The International Federation of University Women had its inception in London last summer when Dean Gildersleeve of Barnard College, representing the American Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, conferred with officers of the English Federation of University Women. At the present time only American and English women are included in the Federation. French women have signified their desire to become members, and though at present they are unorganized, they will send representatives to the convention this month. The college women of Canada are expected to join the Federation at the convention.

(*Continued on page* 146)

The Woman's Party Attends

(Upper Row) Long lines of white-clad figu
tiny headquarters of the Woman's Party
stood silent against the gray wall of the coli
(Lower Row) Reverend Olympia Brown, st
the pickets. Unfurling the colors over the C
(Center) The keynote banner. (Right) The

ds the G. O. P. Convention



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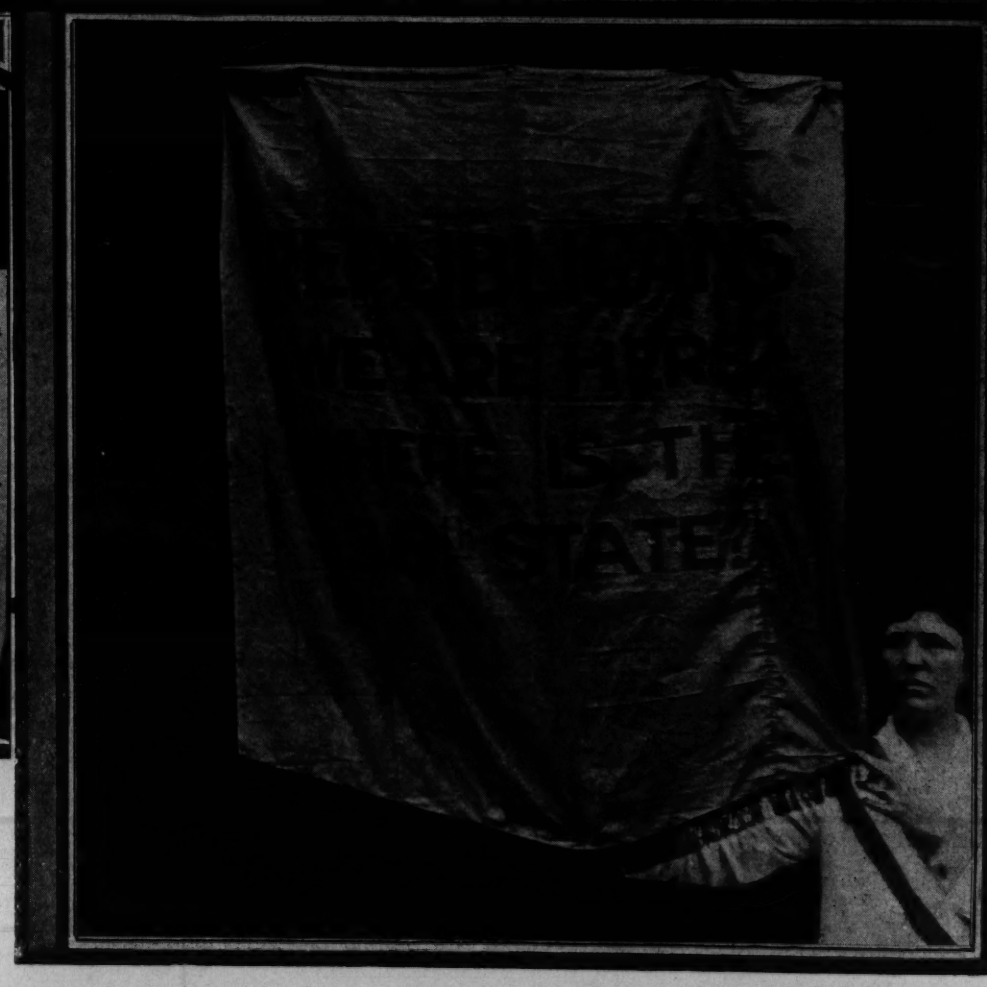

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es with glowing banners marched from the across the street, while traffic halted, and seum.

urdy suffrage pioneer, with the youngest of icago headquarters.

crucial question.

Women's Power in Needlework Unions

NOT long ago a woman organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was addressing a meeting of young men machinists employed in a corset factory. She was trying to persuade them to join the union and by united action to improve their wages and conditions. The men sat listless and uninterested. All the usual appeals failed. Finally, in desperation, the organizer tried a new tack. "How many of you men want to get married?" There was a stir of interest. "Don't you find it hard to get a girl on what you make?" It was evident that they did; in their opinion the girls demanded too much of their future husbands. "Of course you can't get a girl with any brains to marry you on $20.00 a week when she can get a job at $35.00 in any New York clothing factory. The girls had brains enough to organize." The result of this plea was satisfactory.

The two great unions of clothing workers—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, making men's and boys' garments, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, making all kinds of women's garments, are now recognized everywhere as being among the strongest organizations of labor in the country. Within ten years they have brought the industry out of the sweatshops, and have reduced home work to a minimum, have established the eight-hour day and the forty-four hour week, with a decent level of wages, and are now going ahead to blaze the trail of the labor movement by such projects as unemployment insurance supported by the industry, and cooperative banks. Together they number about 375,000 members. Fully half of these members are women. According to the Census figures of 1914, there were more women than men workers in both branches of the industry, the totals being 147,572 men wage earners over 16 years of age, and 203,009 women.

Women Are Generally "Casuals"

This strength of organized women is an anomaly in trade-union experience. It is a common place of the labor movement that women are more difficult to organize than men. Many of them go to work as young girls and live at home; they expect merely wages enough for "pin money"; they accept seasonal employment without protest; they do not worry about their future in the industry because they expect to find a husband before long. Wage-work is a mere temporary expedient, to be endured without much thought until the way of escape opens. Motives based on social status, or on race and religion, are likely to be strong in such cases. The clothing unions have not been exempt from such difficulties. A special study of representative establishments recently showed that only 19.3 per cent of the women workers are married, and that even of these about one-third were in the shop temporarily.

In the clothing industry, however, such difficulties have been largely overcome, as far as the great centers are concerned, chiefly because of the fact that women have taken a large share in union movements for a long time, and membership in the unions has become traditional, wherever their strength is established. The unions were not built up primarily by men and later thrown open to women, but, on the contrary, the two sexes have cooperated in them from the first.

A Pioneer Strike By Women

Women in New York carried on one of the first successful strikes in the industry, which furnished the workers with a morale necessary to their eventual security. In 1909 the small local of waist and dressmakers called a strike, expecting about 3,000 to respond. Instead, about 30,000 walked out, including women of all races—with the exception of a few "Americans." No such strike of women had been known or thought possible. It aroused the public as never before to the sufferings of the needleworkers, and substantial gains were made. This was the prelude to the great strike of men cloakmakers in 1910 which resulted in the noted "Protocol"—the first collective agreement in the industry which endured more than a few months.

"Local 25" of the I. L. G. W.—the New York Waistmakers—has remained active and powerful ever since the strike of 1909. It is the largest local of women in the country; recently it has become so large that for administrative purposes it has had to be split up into several units. It has won a number of strikes, and has initiated other activities.

In spite of their numbers in the unions, however, and their effective work as a group, the women members have not furnished their proportional share of the leadership. Miss Fannie Cohn has long been a Vice-President of the Ladies' Garment Workers, and the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for a while contained Miss Dorothy Jacobs, now the wife of August Bellanca of the Board. With these and a few other conspicuous exceptions there have been few women officials of high rank. Most of the women officials and organizers who have developed, however, are indispensable, and the administrations of the unions would gladly welcome more. Incidentally, many of the "outsiders" taken into the general offices in an expert capacity have been women.

With the rapid growth of the unions, and their conquest of the industry outside the large centers, the problems involved in organizing women have become more acute. There are still many non-union women in the corset factories and the shirt-shops which are scattered throughout the country, as well as a few in the clothing shops proper. The subject came before the conventions of both great unions, held this May. Resolutions were adopted in both calling for the appointment of more women organizers, and the encouragement of active participation in the unions' affairs on the part of women. One resolution in particular caused lively debate in the Amalgamated convention. This was to the effect that the women be given equal opportunity within the union

to work on all processes. Some of the men argued that such phrasing would have the effect of forcing women to work on heavy processes which would be injurious to them, just as "equal opportunity" in law is sometimes held to militate against women's eight-hour restrictions. The point of the women was carried, however, by a convention in which there was a large predominance of men, it being understood that the resolution would be so worded as to avoid misinterpretation or abuse by the employers.

The example of the clothing unions in their attitude towards women is one that might well be followed by many of the more conservative unions of the country, particularly those whose occupations were invaded by women in large numbers during the war. In the needle trades, far from being desirous of excluding women from the unions, the men have always urged them to take a larger share in the movement. They have seen clearly enough that without the women the unions themselves would be in great danger; and the women in turn have demonstrated how great a positive contribution they give to the joint task of making the life of the workers more abundant.

George Soule.

In Honor of the Great Suffrage Pioneers

IT is an illuminating commentary on our man-made government that among the countless bronze and marble statues of men in the national Capital, only one is erected to the memory of a woman.

Warriors, statesmen, inventors, and small-town lawyers—men only—live for the future in the halls of government buildings at Washington. Frances E. Willard, alone among her sex, is honored by a marble bust in Statuary Hall.

Suffragists have long felt that the great women who started the movement in America for the emancipation of one-half of the race should have some sort of lasting memorial to their work.

With this in mind, the National Woman's Party plans to present to the Capitol, when ratification of the suffrage amendment is finally completed, statutes of the women who first labored for that victory—Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott.

The busts to be presented by the Woman's Party are from models made during the lifetime of the suffrage pioneers by Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, friend of both Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, whose excellent work in the modeling of the famous women of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is widely known. Mrs. Johnson began her work with the financial backing of a committee, organized by Miss Anthony, which appealed for funds for this purpose. Contributors to the fund numbered many of the noted men of the day, such as John Greenleaf Whittier. Miss Anthony herself raised and gave approximately a thousand dollars toward the cost of the busts.

After the death of Miss Anthony and of the members of the original committee, none of whom is now living, plans for the completion of the statues and their placing did not mature and they have remained for many years in Mrs. Johnson's studio.

The affairs of the original committee are now in the hands of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, as attorney for the committee.

In a letter to Mrs. Harper, Mrs. Johnson and later Miss Paul, asked her permission to have the busts completed and their presentation to the Capitol made by the Woman's Party. Mrs. Harper replied giving her consent in the following letter:

"My dear Miss Paul:

"I have your letter asking me, as the sole representative of the committee which made the contract with Mrs. Adelaide Johnson many years ago for the busts of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Lucretia Mott, for permission to have the National Woman's Party take charge of placing them, or similar ones, in the Capitol at Washington.

"I am very glad to give this permission and hope that the Party will be successful in the effort. A little later I will be glad to comply with your request to write you a history of these busts and give you any other needed information."

Lucretia Mott—Bust by Adelaide Johnson

Mrs. Johnson is now in Rome completing her work on the busts and arranging them on one pedestal. She will bring them back with her when she returns to this country in the near future.

Chivalry vs. Democracy in Louisiana

Federal Amendment meets its eighth defeat on June 15th---Senate vote 23 to 19, House vote 67 to 44

JUNE 15 saw the end of a five weeks' battle fiercely waged on the banks of the Mississippi between southern chivalry entrenched, and nation-wide democracy attacking.

During these weeks there have been gains and losses on both sides. The battle line has shifted many times. The front line trenches taken by chivalry today, have been retaken by democracy tomorrow, and then lost again. It has needed a clear head and a keen judgment, to know friend from foe—for many have been the wolves in sheep's clothing. But one word has been the shibboleth to tell friend from foe—to separate real suffragist from near suffragist—the word ratification. Early in the fight it was found that those who were not for ratification were not for suffrage; they were for some form of near suffrage, such as states rights suffrage or delayed suffrage, or no suffrage at all. Soon the battle resolved itself into a struggle between these two factions: on the one side democracy, real suffrage, ratification; on the other southern chivalry, sham suffrage, states rights.

The First Defeat

Democracy met its first defeat when chivalry put the state suffrage referendum bill through the lower house of the Louisiana General Assembly June 3 by a vote of 93 to 17. But the evening of that same day saw democracy triumphant at the hearing held before the Federal Relations Committees of the Lousiana senate and house on the federal suffrage amendment. At that hearing ex-Governor Pleasant, leader of the states rights, made a long and boring appeal to all the prejudice, ignorance, Civil War and Reconstruction bitterness existent in the Louisiana Assembly. He was supported by Miss Charlotte Rowe. Those of us who in the past have heard Miss Rowe speak so nimbly against suffrage are today somewhat disconcerted by hearing her speak almost as nimbly for it—by state action. Though of the North, since the passage of the suffrage amendment through Congress, Miss Rowe has become as ardently for states rights as is the south itself. The antiquated absurdities of Miss Rowe's and Mr. Pleasant's speeches were shot to pieces by the delightful wit of Mr. Phanor Brazeale and Congressman J. Y. Sanders. The members of the Woman's Party also helped to turn this evening into a brilliant victory for ratification, Mrs. Eleanor Graham Louisiana state chairman and Mrs. M. L. Bankston Louisiana member of the Advisory Council. It is believed that had the vote on the state suffrage bill been taken after instead of before this hearing the result would have been different. Certain it is that several members of the Senate from that night began for the first time to fight the state bill.

The states righters' next move was for delay in the senate. They knew they lacked the two-thirds vote necessary for the passage of their bill in that house. Sixteen senators aligned themselves against the state bill and as only 14 votes were needed to defeat it the state bill would have been lost in the senate if allowed to take its normal course. To avoid this, Senator Stewart, floor leader for the state bill, asked to be allowed to withdraw his bill since the state bill already passed by the house would in course of time come to the senate. This move was made, of course, for the purpose of placing the state bill behind the federal amendment on the senate calendar and thus forcing a vote on the federal bill first. As Stewart's motion required only a majority vote it carried, and the states righters were about to break into jubilations when a whisper began that a mistake had been made, that the senator had withdrawn the wrong bill, that instead of withdrawing a state amendment bill he had withdrawn a poll tax bill. The whisper became outspoken mirth when it was found that Stewart had both introduced and withdrawn a poll tax bill believing it to be a state amendment bill and that hours had been spent by the Louisiana senate in withdrawing a bill that never existed.

But in spite of their mistake the states righters were behind the ratificationists on the senate calendar and when Williamson, floor leader of the ratificationists, a few days later tried to withdraw the federal amendment from the senate, Stewart objected on the ground of delay and promised that if Williamson were not allowed to withdraw his bill, he (Stewart) would in no way try to hold back his own bill when it came up on the senate calendar. Whereupon the senate refused to allow Williamson to withdraw the Federal Amendment and instead rejected it by a vote of 23 to 19. When later in the week the state bill came up on the senate calendar Stewart breaking his word on two successive days had the bill returned to the calendar. On one of these days he staged another comedy of errors, and brought upon himself a two-thirds vote, the thing he was trying to avoid, by making a motion that his bill be made a special order of the day for Thursday. The "stone wall" defeated his motion and he had hastily to make another motion returning his bill to the calendar.

Champ Clark Makes Suffrage Plea

Meanwhile the state righters while insisting on delay for their bill in the senate were urging speed against the federal amendment in the house. They had become particularly nervous since the Honorable Champ Clark, invited by the ratification committee, had made a splendid plea for suffrage before a packed audience in Baton Rouge. Also letters, telegrams, petitions were continually pouring in on the legislators from their constitutents urging ratification. These were the results of visits to the parishes by various members of the ratification committee and lobby to inform the people of the situation in Baton Rouge. The Woman's Party did valiant service along these lines. Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Bankston went out into the parishes around New Orleans; Mrs. Alice Cosu, Mrs. Meissner and Miss Vivian Pierce, national organizer, worked in New Orleans; Miss Grace

Johnson in and around Shreveport; Mrs. Bayhi, Mrs. Anding and Mrs. Williams in Baton Rouge, while I worked in Shreveport, Natchitoches and Alexandria. The press was doing splendid work for us and undoubtedly the prospects for ratification were improving. The states righters felt that they must end matters while they still controlled the majority vote. So on Thursday morning, June 10, Senators Stewart and Prowell, the latter representing the New Orleans liquor interests, invaded the house and actually took charge of its proceedings. They yelled instructions from the "side lines" they ran down the aisles instructing representatives how to vote and when the vote was taken Prowell voted. Acting under these influences the house demanded a report on the federal amendment from the Federal relations committee and when Mr. Wilkinson, chairman of that committee, said the report was not ready, instructed him to give the report the next time the house met which was the following Monday evening June 14. A resolution to reject the federal amendment was also introduced and allowed to go over under the rules until the following Monday evening.

Between Friday and Monday we prepared for the battle. Legislators were approached from every possible angle; we held consultations with national and state suffrage leaders and with prominent men and women all over the state. Representative Sanders who was in Baton Rouge lobbied for us as did also the labor leaders. The once all powerful mayor of New Orleans called his friends into consultation, the New Orleans *Item* redoubled its already splendid efforts in our behalf and delegation after delegation of both men and women called on Governor Parker asking him to use his influence to see that we were given fair play. For fair play isn't easy to get when the presiding officer of both houses is openly and shamelessly against you. Finally Representative Raker of California was asked to come to Louisiana to speak before the lower house on the fatal Monday evening.

The turreted and battlemented castle on the banks of the mighty Mississippi, the State House of Louisiana, was crowded that hot and crucial night of June 14. Outside mocking birds sang in the magnolia trees thickset with huge moon blossoms and all was fragrant peace. Inside there was glare and heat and nervous intensity. Democracy was prepared to go down fighting but not to surrender. Both factions were there in full force, the ratification group as usual much larger that the states rights.

States Rights Battle In House

In the senate the states righters as usual had their bill returned to the calendar. The house was the scene of the real battle. It lasted three hours and when it was over men were speechless with shouting and staggering with fatigue and the speaker had broken two gavels in his futile attempts to maintain order. When it was found that the chairman of the federal relations committee was absent on account of the serious illness of his wife, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole and reported the federal amendment favorably. The house refused to hear Mr. Raker, but the ratificationists after a hard and bitter struggle succeeded in postpoining the vote on both the federal amendment and the motion to reject that amendment until the next morning.

When the next morning came (June 15) the house after

(*Continued on page* 150)

Picketing the Republican Party

(*Continued from page* 126)

Republican leaders went further in their effort to secure a special session in Vermont than they have ever gone before. Conference after conference was held by Republican leaders at Chicago to consider ways to induce the governors of Vermont and Connecticut to call sessions of their legislatures to ratify suffrage. Mr. Will Hays, chairman of the Republican national committee; Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and other Republican leaders and delegates wired Governor Clement an especially urgent appeal for a special session, on the eve of the picketing. Mr. Hays also telephoned from Chicago to Governor Clement concerning the importance of a special session.

Finally, the constant line of picket banners reminded every Republican leader and every Republican delegate of the fact which they are only too eager to forget, that millions of women are yet unenfranchised through the fault of the Republican party. More important still, the banners told these men that women are aware of the forces responsible for the "suffrage blockade," and warned that this knowledge may become a factor of considerable political importance in the next campaign.

Evidence that the effect of the picketing on the convention was widespread came from a newspaper man on the last day of the convention, a man representing a Republican paper and at first decidedly opposed to the picketing.

"When you began your picketing," he said, "every politician I met growled, 'What's the matter with these women? Haven't we done enough? We gave them 29 states. What more do they want?'

"Now the universal cry among these same men is, 'What is the matter with Vermont and Connecticut?' "

Nearly every state was represented in the picket line before the Coliseum. Among the women who took part were Mrs. Geneive Allen, California chairman of the Woman's Party; Miss Sue White, Tennessee chairman; Mrs. Mabel Putnam, Wisconsin chairman; Dr. Gillette Hayden, Ohio chairman; Miss Mary Ingham, Pennsylvania chairman; Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Illinois chairman; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, National Treasurer of the Woman's Party; Miss Sara James, secretary of the Wisconsin branch; Mrs. Susan Lawrence Gehrman, congressional district chairman of Illinois; Mrs. Edwin Lobdell, vice-president of the Chicago Woman's Club; Miss Ella Abeel, chairman of the Suffrage Committee of the Chicago Woman's Club; Miss Rhoda Kellog, president of the University of Minnesota Suffrage Club; Mrs. Bertha Trompetter, chairman of the Milwaukee branch of the Woman's Party; Mrs. James Rector, Ohio member of the National Advisory Council; Mrs. Cyrus Adler, congressional district chairman of the Ohio branch; Mrs. Mary Brite, secretary of the Ohio branch; Miss Alice Henry of the National Woman's Trade Union League; Mrs. Max Rotter of Milwaukee, a cousin of Governor Clement of Vermont; Mrs. Forbes Rickard of Denver; Miss Henrietta Heinzen of the Children's Bureau; Miss Editha Phelps, secretary of the Illinois branch of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. W. U. Watson, treasurer of the Illinois branch.

Eleanor Taylor.

They Say —

Coolidge and Suffrage

If the Vice-President on the Republican ticket had been nominated from the State of Montana, there might be little change to-day in suffrage prospects in New England.

But Calvin Coolidge was born in Vermont.

In his native state and in Massachusetts there is more interest than there was before the Chicago convention in securing the thirty-sixth state for the ratification of the Federal amendment.

Sixteen million women will vote, anyway, for or against Calvin Coolidge for Vice-President next fall, but those voters will not be in New England. Rhode Island and Maine have given women the right of Presidential suffrage, but these are small states in the number of voters, and Maine has decided to have a referendum on the President suffrage bill in September.

The suffragists of all the New England states have long been distressed over the poor showing made by the "cradle of democracy." They have been ashamed that Connecticut and Vermont have stood in the path of woman's freedom, in company with Southern states burdened by local problems and unblessed by traditions of liberty.

Impersonal convictions about the march of democracy, even outraged local pride, may not move the hearts of statesmen as will the opportunity to vote for a local hero. New England will want to cast a record vote for Calvin Coolidge. A cheap and easy way to double the vote is to double the electorate.—New York *Tribune,* June 21, 1920.

Sioux City Tribune.

"Ahem!"

Governor Clement Plays Safe

Montpelier, Vt., June 7.—Gov. Percival W. Clement has cancelled all out-of-the-state engagements and will play close to the bases during the fight the woman suffragists are waging to get him to call a special session of the Vermont legislature to consider the federal suffrage amendment.

It is understood the suffragists planned to lure Governor Clement from the state, probably to Chicago to make a speech, and then to have Lieutenant Governor Stone call an extra session. The lieutenant governor has been besieged by women and there has been correspondence between the governor and the lieutenant governor on this subject. Governor Clement is taking no chances, and for that reason has cancelled his out-of-the-state engagements, among them a class reunion.—*New York World.*

Ohio State Journal

Have a Heart and Lend a Hand

Pickets—Pickets Everywhere

By V. Blasco Ibanez,

Author of "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse."

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Chicago, June 9.—As nothing extraordinary has happened thus far inside of the Convention Hall, let us take a look at its exterior.

When you reach the enormous building in the morning, the first thing that attracts your attention is the feminine forces picketing the Coliseum. You cannot enter the hall through any of its numerous doors without meeting a group of ladies carrying banners and large signs. With strategic foresight which many generals might well envy, they have occupied every single point of vantage and the stronger sex cannot go in or come out without facing their silent protests.

The groups of pickets vary in composition and aspect in accordance with the demands which they represent. * * *

But the largest feminine group, the one that keeps the strongest cordon around the Coliseum, is the line of pickets organized by the three colors of the party—lavender, white and yellow. Every banner bears some inscription printed in large characters. Standing elbow to elbow, with the flags held in front, the pickets give you the impression of a huge unfolded Chinese book, one of those albums that becomes a long strip of paper when you unfold its leaves. "What happened to the Republican Party in Delaware?" demanded one of the banners. I don't know, but I can guess. "The Republicans can grant the women the suffrage. Why don't

they do it?" I read further down the line. There are other inscriptions.

The indictment is long. And the pickets are tireless. All day long the tri-color flags flutter in the air, bearing the message of the militant group.

All, absolutely all, the suffragists are garbed in white. They remind me of a group of girls in a Catholic country dressed up to take their first communion. The majority of them are unmarried ladies or young matrons, and therefore this dress gives them a youthful air, some might even call it a poetic touch. But among them there were also respectable matrons of severe aspect, well along in years and not very slender; these, too, as a concession to party discipline and to preserve the harmony of the ensemble, put on also girlish white dresses.

In the Old World, especially in the Latin countries, we are the victims of a tyranny that restrains our personal liberty, the fear of the ludicrous. We are afraid to excite laughter, mortally afraid that people will think us queer, outlandish, grotesque. In former times people trembled when they thought of the Inquisition in Europe. Nowadays in Europe we are terrified by what we think our neighbors may say about us.

I am perfectly sure that in many European countries it would be impossible to assemble a dozen ladies of respectable age and dimensions to dress up like school girls and parade in the streets. They would not do it to get the vote. They would not do it to save their own lives.

And that is the reason why the feminine cause advances so slowly in the nations of Central and Southern Europe. Women there are willing to talk in defense of their sex around the hearth. They may even write, but not for their very life will they participate in public demonstrations or parade in the streets. They are afraid of exciting laughter.

Moreover, the artistic preoccupations of their sex, their love for personal adornment stay with them even when they start to fight for their emancipation. If the women of Paris, Rome or Madrid ever decide to parade in defense of their cause I am sure they will first design a special dress in harmony with their aspirations, taking infinite pains to forestall the shafts of male ridicule by getting up something that the males will like for itself, irrespective of feminism.

Here it is different. Those preoccupations don't exist. "We want the vote for women." And your matron dresses up like a white little angel and goes forth with her younger comrades to parade for the cause, paying no attention to a detail which she considers wholly unimportant.

The great victories of life are won by that spirit. I admire the heroic stuff of which these ladies are made. If their getting the vote depended on me they would have it right off.

"A Dash of Courage"

"Alice Paul's suffrage pickets are still the only splash of color and dash of courage at the Coliseum. Charles Hilles thinks so, too.

"He used to be chairman of the Republican national committee. Today he approached the line of pickets, praised them for their persistence and presented them with five sets of tickets to the convention."—From article by Paul Hanna in New York *Call*, June 10.

New Marriage Bill Before the Swedish Parliament

(*Continued from page* 130)

to effect a complete division of property and reparation for loss suffered, by taking in property an equivalent of the goods unduly squandered.

The marriage right, lastly, gives one of the parties a right to share in the decision as to disposal of the property of the other party, this rule applying only to property in which the welfare of the family is specifically involved, namely, sale and mortgage of real estate and sale or pawning of movable property belonging to the common home. In these cases the consent not only of the owner, but also of the other party is required for the action to become valid.

The rulings of the new bill on economic matters tend to remedy many of the inconveniences, affecting women particularly, inherent in the present law. Equally important are the regulations proposed relative to the duty of support devolving on husband and wife, the main regulation reading as follows:

"It is incumbent on husband and wife, to the best of their ability, by contribution in money, by work at home and elsewhere, to take their part in the support of the family which shall be suited to the conditions of the parties concerned. The support of the family covers everything required in the common household, the education of the children and the individual requirements of husband and wife."

To the wife the fact that her work in the home is regarded as a share in the support must be particularly gratifying since it offsets the view so often expressed that the wife is a "supported" member of the family and recognizes her efforts in the home, even if not resulting in cash, enabling her to assume some of the family expenses, as having a value which places her at the side of the husband as a "provider."

The obligation to support enjoining on both parties in proportion to their capacity, the wife who has income of her own deriving from work or capital will as a result be required to share in the support in cash as well. The husband and wife may decide by an arrangement between themselves how they wish to apply this rule.

The mutual duty to support the family has resulted in a stipulation to the effect that husband and wife shall be required to "furnish one another with such information regarding their economic conditions as is required for the fixation of their share in the support of each party." The frequent grievance that the wife is left without knowledge of the economic position of the family will thus be avoided.

The present bill is the result of cooperation between men and women of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. It has been introduced simultaneously in the three countries in versions identical in all essential parts. If it is enacted as a law the assertion may be ventured that the three Scandinavian countries have placed themselves at the head of reform aspirations in these matters of extraordinary importance. The enactment of the law would also afford the Scandinavian women a token of confidence which would in a high degree tend to strengthen their power and enhance their sense of responsibility.

Emilia Broome.

Delaware Refuses to End Suffrage Struggle

ON June 2 the lower House of the Delaware Legislature, convened in special session by Governor Townsend on March 22, defeated ratification of the suffrage amendment. The vote, which was on bringing the suffrage solution out of Committee, stood 24 to 10. Fourteen of the large Republican majority, including the Speaker of the House, cast their votes against action on the amendment.

For a month the Upper House of the Delaware Legislature, which had ratified the amendment on May 5 by a vote of 11 to 6, steadily refused to send the measure to the House, proving that there was not sufficient strength there to pass it. On May 28 at the convening of the House the anti-suffrage members held conferences and decided that unless the resolution were sent over to the House at once it need never be brought over insofar as any action was concerned. Suffrage advocates urged a delay for ten or more days, but the ultimatum was given out that it was "today or never" for the suffrage resolution, and the party leaders saw that it was useless to delay matters longer.

After several rapid-fire conferences with suffrage members and national and State suffrage leaders, it was decided to message the Senate resolution over to the House. The galleries and floor of the House were crowded by Senate members. In perfect stillness the Senate clerk presented Senate Joint Resolution No. 1, the suffrage resolution. On motion of Representative Lloyd, Republican, anti-suffrage, the resolution was referred to the House as a committee of the whole. This action also was unanimous. Before any other action could be taken Representative Lloyd moved that an adjournment be taken until Wednesday.

President Wilson Appeals

When it became evident that the Republicans would not muster the votes for ratification, President Wilson on June 2, the day of the defeat, made a strong appeal to the Democrats of the Delaware House to give the needed votes and win the resulting credit of completing the enfranchisement of the women of this country. The President's telegram to three Democratic members of the lower branch of the Legislature, J. J. Mulvena, J. A. Mulrine and J. E. McNabb, read as follows:

> "May I not as a Democrat express my deep interest in the suffrage amendment and my judgment that it would be of the greatest service to the party if every Democrat in the Delaware Legislature should vote for it."

Neither this appeal nor repeated efforts of the leaders of the Irish movement in this country to turn the votes of the Irish members of the Legislature succeeded. The state which was the first to ratify the American Constitution founding this democracy declined to take any part in completing it.

During the entire Delaware session local and national leaders of the Woman's Party worked with supreme concentration and intensity to overcome the forces of the opposition. Individual members of the Republican Party in the State, and here and there a national leader also, labored diligently, but the Republican command as a whole did not exert itself sufficiently to attain the result which it professed to desire.

On the day of the defeat the National Republican Committeeman of the State, T. Coleman Du Pont, was in Chicago contenting himself with the introduction of a resolution urging the Republican legislatures to extend suffrage to women.

Georgia Meets Again

THE legislature of Georgia, which met in regular session Wednesday, June 23, is the same body which defeated ratification of the suffrage amendment last year by a 3 to 1 vote. There has been no indication that any of the members of the legislature have changed their minds.

But many of the strongest leaders in the State worked for ratification last year and continue to favor it. Governor Dorsey is one of those men, United States Senator Harris and Representative Upshaw are supporters of the amendment, while the Democratic National Committeeman, Mr. Clark Howell, editor of the Georgia *Constitution,* with the political editor of the *Constitution,* Mr. James Hallonan, have probably done more than any other men in the State to further suffrage.

Though it is possible that no action will be taken on suffrage, Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely, national organizer for the Woman's Party, who attended the session of the legislature last year, is in Georgia watching the proceedings of this session in the interest of the amendment.

Contributor's Column

MRS. EMILIA BROOME is one of the leaders of the woman movement in Sweden. She was appointed by the government a member of the legislative board to assist in the framing of the new marriage bill. Mrs. Broome is a member of the town council of Stockholm and is president of the Royal Committee on the Expansion of Woman's Admission to Government Offices. She is head of the Swedish Central Association for Social Work and is a member of the Swedish Association for the League of Nations. During the years when Swedish women were fighting for suffrage, Mrs. Broome was president of the Stockholm branch of the Association for Woman's Suffrage.

GEORGE SOULE is a student of industrial problems and frequent contributor to the *Nation.*

MARGARET CRAHAN is a writer for the New York *Sun,* Philadelphia *Ledger* and Seattle *Times,* who has recently become affiliated with the Press Department of the Woman's Party.

Senator Harding "Listens" and Evades

(*Continued from page 129*)

publican party demands that it complete the enfranchisement of women. The party which refuses women the vote will inevitably suffer at the polls this November and at the succeeding elections."

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Wilmington, Delaware chairman of the National Woman's Party:

"I feel deeply the Republican responsibility for our present suffrage blockade. Many groups of Republican women come into my office with the question, 'Is our party going to make it possible for us to work for it by giving women the vote?'

"We had every reason to hope that Delaware might be the 36th state. Delaware is a Republican state with a Republican majority in the Senate, and a Republican majority in the House. We failed to secure ratification in Delaware because of what the Republican leaders failed to do."

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker of Baltimore, Maryland chairman of the National Woman's Party:

"Three months ago the leading women of Maryland were ready to give their support to the Republican Party, so outraged were they by the failure of the Democrats to ratify the amendment in their state. Now, however, the suffrage chicanery of the Republicans has convinced many women that they are really as opposed to our enfranchisement as the Democrats. Unless one of these parties acts promptly, there is nothing left for women to do but to turn to a third party in the coming elections."

Miss Mary Ingham, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania chairman of the National Woman's Party:

"The political future of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, so far a staunchly Republican state, will be seriously affected by its action on suffrage. Unless it gives us the 36th state, women will go, and they are already drifting away from the Republican party though it may always have been, in the past, the party with which they were affiliated."

Miss Sue White of Nashville, Tennessee chairman of the National Woman's Party:

"Senator Harding you have heard the justice of the suffrage cause urged this afternoon. I want to tell you that immediate ratification of the suffrage amendment is a matter of political expediency to your party. The opportunity which you now have to give the thirty-sixth state, you may not have two weeks hence. A Republican state may now complete ratification. Within two weeks a Democratic state may have taken this opportunity away from you."

Miss Emma Wold of Portland, Oregon, former state chairman of the National Woman's Party:

"I come from a normally Republican state but I am not strongly tied to any party. Like many men and women of Oregon, I place principle before party.

"In 1916, Oregon did not listen to 'the siren voice' but it almost did. One reason was that the women of my state placed principle above party and defeated the party which was blocking suffrage in Congress.

"I would regret it very much if the women of the state of Oregon were to feel that this year they could not vote for the Republican party because of its opposition to suffrage. I feel that the opportunity to win them lies largely in your hands."

In addition to the women already mentioned, the following were members of the deputation:

Mrs. Robert H. Richards, of Wilmington, Delaware, who was offered by the Republican party the state chairmanship of the Republican women of Delaware, but who refused to accept office in the party until women are enfranchised;

Miss Sheldon Jackson, of Washington, D. C., chairman of the District branch of the Woman's Party, and secertary of the board of trustees of the Washington College of Law, Mrs. Gilson Gardner, member of the Woman's Party executive committee, and Mrs. Nina E. Allender, member of the District executive board of the Woman's Party, both of Washington, D. C.;

Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest, of Scituate, Mass., member national advisory council of the Woman's Party;

Mrs. Walter Liggett, of St. Paul, Minnesota;

Miss Stella Jenkin, of Kansas City, Missouri, former executive secretary of the Jackson County, Mo., suffrage campaign committee;

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, national ratification chairman of the Woman's Party, and Miss Alice Brock, member of the national advisory council, both of Philadelphia, Pa.;

Mrs. Benigna Green Kalb, of Houston, Texas, member of the state board of the Texas branch of the Woman's Party and secretary of the national Farm Woman's Congress;

Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, of Richmond, Virginia chairman of the Woman's Party.

Mrs. Thomas Crahan, of Seattle, Washington, past president of the Seattle Federation of Women's Clubs.

BY AND ABOUT WOMEN

NOW that women have come into their own, the old party distinctions and allegiances should no longer content them.—**Lawrence Housman.**

NO man in his senses ever really thought of money as filthy lucre. . . . If independent women . . . are ever going to be anything besides merely independent, if they are ever going to be *effective*, they must acquire the free use of the financial lever!—**Mary Austin.**

THE root of modern feminism is, of course, the desire for money—money that can be transformed into personal satisfaction.—**Arnold Bennett.**

No Referendum on Amendments

(*Continued from page* 131)

of the article is plain, and admits of no doubt in its interpretation. It is not the function of courts or legislative bodies, national or state, to alter the method which the Constitution has fixed.

"All of the amendments to the Constitution have been submitted with a requirement for legislative ratification; by this method all of them have been adopted.

"The only question really for determination is: What did the framers of the Constitution mean in requiring ratification by 'legislatures'? That was not a term of uncertain meaning when incorporated into the Constitution. What it meant when adopted it still means for the purpose of interpretation. A legislature was then the representative body which made the laws of the people. The term is often used in the Constitution with this evident meaning. Article I, Section 2, prescribes the qualifications of electors of Congressmen as 'those requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.' Article I, Section 3, provided that Senators shall be chosen in each by the legislature thereof, and this was the method of choosing Senators until the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment, which made provision for the election of Senators by vote of the people, the electors to have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. That Congress and the states understood that this election by the people was entirely distinct from legislative action is shown by the provision of the amendment giving the legislature of any state the power to authorize the Executive to make temporary appointments until the people shall fill the vacancies by election. It was never suggested, so far as we are aware, that the purpose of making the office of Senator elective by the people could be accomplished by a referendum vote. The necessity of the amendment to accomplish the purpose of popular election is shown in the adoption of the amendment. In Article IV the United States is required to protect every state against domestic violence upon application of the legislature or of the Executive when the legislature cannot be convened. Article VI requires the members of the several legislatures to be bound by oath, or affirmation, to support the Constitution of the United States. By Article I, Section 8, Congress is given exclusive jurisdiction over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be. Article IV, Section 3, provides that no new states shall be carved out of old states without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned.

"There can be no question that the framers of the Constitution clearly understood and carefully used the terms in which that instrument referred to the action of the legislatures of the states. When they intended that direct action by the people should be had they were no less accurate in the use of apt phraseology to carry out such purpose. The members of the House of Representatives were required to be chosen by the people of the several states. Article I, Section 2.

"The Constitution of Ohio, in its present form, although making provision for a referendum, vests the legislative power primarily in a General Assembly consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. Article II, Section 1, provides:

" 'The legislative power of the state shall be vested in a General Assembly consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, but the people shall reserve to themselves the power to propose to the General Assembly laws and amendments to the constitution, and to adopt or reject the same at the polls on a referendum vote as hereinafter provided.'

"The argument to support the power of the state to require the approval by the people of the state of the ratification of amendments to the Federal Constitution through the medium of a referendum rests upon the proposition that the Federal Constitution requires ratisfication by the legislative action of the states through the medium provided at the time of the proposed approval of an amendment. This argument is fallacious in this—ratification by a state of a constitutional amendment is not an act of legislation within the proper sense of the word. It is but the expression of the assent of the state to a proposed amendment.

"At an early day this court settled that the submission of a constitutional amendment did not require the action of the President. The question arose over the adoption of the Eleventh Amendment. *Hollingsworth et al.* v. *Virginia,* 3 Dallas, 378. In that case it was contended that the amendment had not been proposed in the manner provided in the Constitution, as an inspection of the original roll showed that it had never been submitted to the President for his approval in accordance with Article I, Section 7, of the Constitution. The Attorney General answered that the case of amendments is a substantive act, unconnected with the ordinary business of legislation, and not within the policy or terms of the Constitution investing the President with a qualified negative on the acts and resolutions of Congress. In a foot-note to this argument of the Attorney General, Justice Chase said: 'There can, surely, be no necessity to answer that argument. The negative of the President applies only to the ordinary cases of legislation: He has nothing to do with the proposition, or adoption, of amendments to the Constitution.' The court by a unanimous judgment held that the amendment was constitutionally adopted.

"It is true that the power to legislate in the enactment of the laws of a state is derived from the people of the state. But the power to ratify a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution has its source in the Federal Constitution. The act of ratification by the state derives its authority from the Federal Constitution to which the state and its people have alike assented.

"This view of the amendment is confirmed in the history of its adoption found in 2 Watson on the Constitution, 1301 *et seq*. Any other view might lead to endless confusion in the manner of ratification of federal amendments. The choice of means of ratification was wisely withheld from conflicting action in the several states.

"But it is said this view runs counter to the decision of this court in *Davis* v. *Hildebrant,* 241 U. S. 565. But that case is inapposite. It dealt with Article I, Section 4, of the Constitution, which provides that the times, places and manners of holding elections for Senators and Representatives in each state shall be determined by the respective legislatures thereof, but that Congress may at any time make or alter such regulations, except as to the place for choosing Senators. As shown in the opinion in that

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Women and the Sixty-Sixth Congress

Department conducted by Sue S. White

WITH the cessation of congressional deliberations on June 5, it is timely to now consider what the sixty-sixth Congress has done and what it has not done for women.

What Congress Has Done

Looking first to what it has done—it passed the resolution submitting to the states the woman suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution. Then, while suffragists were busy working for ratification in the states, Congress proceeded upon its own career, more or less content to rest upon its laurels for having achieved the glorious act of according simple justice to women, and somewhat indifferent to further legislation concerning them.

When the army reorganization bill was passed, it contained a section providing assimilated rank for nurses. This law was finally passed on May 29, after a hard struggle in the conference committee.

On June 2 the bill was finally passed making permanent the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, with $75,000 appropriation, and providing that the director of the bureau shall be a woman. While the appropriation is an increase over the amount heretofore expended, it is only half the amount recommended by the Secretary of Labor.

The Sundry Civil bill as passed included an item for increased pay for the women (4,000) employed in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The increase allowed raises the minimum base rate of pay in the bureau from $2.37 per day to $2.80 per day, which is still less than the wage of unskilled men workers in government service.

What Congress Did Not Do

Among the things that Congress did not do for women are these:

It did not pass the Anthony bill which removes all discrimination against women in the matter of naturalization and citizenship. No valid excuse for failure to pass such a measure can be offered. The law would simply have defined the status of women and does not carry the complication of an appropriation or need of enforcement measures.

The Sheppard-Towner maternity bill, supported by more elements than probably any other one measure, got no further than a favorable report by the Senate committee that had it in charge. Failure of passage of this law is a disappointment to women which will not be easily or quickly forgotten.

Nothing was done to remedy the conditions in the civil service revealed by the report of the Women's Bureau. This report shows that women were excluded from 60 per cent of the civil service examinations in the six months from January 1, 1919, to June 30, 1919, and a further discrimination in salaries paid to women. The whole question of women's employment in civil service is left to the discretion of heads of departments. Examinations have been opened to both sexes or closed to either sex at the discretion of the head of the department.

The Rhodes bill, providing for federal aid to mothers with dependent children, was left in committee. The sponsors of the bill did not ask for passage at this session of Congress, realizing that it would be futile to do so, as an appropriation would be necessary in order to give effect to the law if passed.

In this connection, an interesting statement has been issued by the National Women's Trade Union League and National Federation of Federal Employes, showing that only 1.01 per cent of the total of five and one-half billion dollars of expenditures provided for in the supply bills for 1920 was spent for human welfare and development purposes, as distinguished from military and commercial purposes. The money for the special needs of women and children, the statement says, was but 56/100,000 of the whole amount appropriated. This means that of every $2,000 spent, about $1 is applied to the things that concern women and children. Any woman knows that this is not enough.

No Referendum on Amendments

(*Continued from page* 144)

case, Congress had itself recognized the referendum as part of the legislative authority of the state for the purpose stated. It was held, affirming the opinion of the Supreme Court of Ohio, that the referendum provision of the state constitution when applied to a law redistricting the state with a view to representation in Congress was not unconstitutional. Article I, Section 4, plainly gives authority to the state to legislate within the limitations therein named. Such legislative action is entirely different from the requirement of the Constitution as to the expression of assent or dissent to a proposed amendment to the Constitution. In such expression no legislative action is authorized or required.

"It follows that the court erred in holding that the state had authority to require the submission of the ratification to a referendum under the state constitution, and its judgment is reversed and the cause remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion."

This decision follows the same line of reasoning presented in the brief filed on behalf of the National Woman's Party by Shippen Lewis, George Wharton Pepper, and William Draper Lewis, of Philadelphia, who were retained by the Woman's Party to represent the interests of suffragists in the litigation.

The Ohio legislature ratified the suffrage amendment on June 16, 1919. On September 13, 1919, a referendum petition was filed with Secretary of State Smith, who is defendant in the suit brought by George S. Hawke as an elector, to enjoin the unnecessary expenditure of public funds for holding the referendum election. The case was rushed through the Ohio courts and brought to the Supreme Court where it was argued on April 23d.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court enables suffragists to count with certainty the thirty-five ratifications thus far obtained. It brings us assuredly up to the thirty-sixth state, and makes clear the situation that awaits and demands affirmative action.

International Conferences of Women

(*Continued from page* 133)

The underlying purpose of the International Federation of University Women is to unite the sympathies of educated women of all nations in the hope of establishing lasting peace. Its immediate aims are the promotion of an international interchange of women students; the interchange of professors among the institutions of different countries, and the establishment of social centers for university women in foreign countries.

The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ will send to the conference Mrs. Marvin Lee Rosenberry of New York City, president of the Association, and Dean Gildersleeve.

Congress of Working Women

Thirteen countries with voting power were represented at the First International Congress of Working Women held in Washington, D. C., last autumn—Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Great Britain, India, Italy, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and the United States. Additional countries represented were Cuba, Denmark, Japan, the Netherlands, Serbia, Spain, and Switzerland.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League, became the first president of the International Congress of Working Women; Mrs. Maud Swartz of the National Women's Trade Union League became the first secretary. The Congress was called by the League at the suggestion of British and French working women and it is to be perpetuated as a permanent organization.

The Congress asked the First International Labor Conference, first of all, that the article concerning the representation of each country be amended so that the delegation from each country should include two delegates representing the Government, one of whom should be a woman; two delegates representing labor, one of whom should be a woman; and two delegates representing the employers.

Resolutions adopted by the Congress included: For all workers a maximum eight-hour day and a forty-four hour week; that the weekly rest period shall have an uninterrupted duration of at least one day and a half; that in continuous industries a minimum rest period of one-half hour shall be accorded in each eight-hour shift; that no child shall be permitted to work unless he is 16 years of age; that the legal workday for persons between 16 and 18 shall be shorter than the day for adults; that no minor shall be employed at night work; prohibition of employment of minors in hazardous occupations; relief of women from work six weeks before and six weeks subsequent to childbirth; free medical care for women during maternity; creation of a bureau in the League of Nations to collect information on the best methods of maternity and infant care; adequate monetary allowance for women workers during maternity; prohibition of all night work for women, and for men in so far as possible.

The Conference of Women Physicians

The International Conference of Women Physicians, which met at national headquarters of the Young Women's Christian Association in New York City from September 15 to October 25 last autumn, gathered at the invitation of the social morality committee of the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A.

The proceedings of the conference which are now being published in full will contain discussions of the health of women in industry; the health of the child; moral codes and personality; adaptation of the individual to life; and conservation of the health of women in marriage.

Margaret Crahan.

Women In Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer

THE cumulative effect of woman's slow progress into the world of commerce and industrial enterprise is beginning to show some conspicuous results. For example: a one hundred thousand dollar Delaware corporation has started a metal cutting supply business in Connecticut under the presidency and active directorship of Miss M. A. Garrity, a woman thoroughly familiar with the commercial phases of the metal industries.

The first step in the development of the Mary Jane zinc mine of Rush, Arkansas, was the election of Miss Eva Stietsman of Oklahoma City to take active charge of mine developments.

Upon the graduation of seven young women from the University of Colorado School of Pharmacy, Dean Homer A. Washburn states that there is no difficulty in securing excellent positions for his woman pharmacists. He adds that the demand for women in this profession has increased since the war when their ability was demonstrated in filling the places of drafted and enlisted men.

The same influence is reflected in other professional fields. Notable in this connection is the recent decision of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinboro to admit women on the same terms as men.

There are evidences amounting to proof, however, that the business and professional women will have to take some organized effective and continuous action if the many opportunities suddenly expanded by the war are not to be gradually closed by the contracting influences of tradition.

* * *

Native women of Canton, China, have issued a prospectus on a project to build and operate a match factory in that city. The enterprise is capitalized at $600,000.

* * *

The Metal Polishers' Union of Philadelphia is attempting to persuade the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor to introduce and back a bill in the state legislature which will prohibit women from operating metal grinding and polishing machines. This bill, if passed, would not only exclude women from the occupation of metal grinding and polishing.

but would hinder their employment on all metal cutting machines, as it is customary in many machine shops for such machine operators to grind their own tools. The reason assigned by the Metal Polishers' Union for urging this bill is that the dust produced by grinding metals is dangerous to the health of women. The fact that metallic dust is as likely to affect men's lungs as seriously as it does women's and that adequate dust exhaust systems which free the air from all dust particles are already operative in many factories, seems to have escaped the notice of this union. However, the Women's Trade Union League of Philadelphia is bringing these facts to the attention of the State Federation of Labor, and hopes to prevent the state body's endorsement of this measure.

Vocational Training for Women.

Among the subjects on the program of the Annual Convention of the National Educational Association meeting in Salt Lake City from July 4 to 10 are Industrial Education and Vocational Training. The experience of the war has brought the subject of specific vocational training sharply into the public consciousness. The Republican platform calls specially for the consideration of women in federal programs for vocational training.

The crystallization of sentiment into these concrete demands promises much for the wage-earning women of coming generations. The realization of the promise will depend upon the collection of an adequate body of data on which the effective vocational training of women must rest. The assumption at present prevailing in this country and England that the capacities and inclination of women for industrial service are limited largely to the sewing trades, domestic service and kindred activities must be attacked and destroyed at the outset. In view of the experiences of the war this ought not be difficult though there are many indications of a relapse to prewar policies of limiting the vocational training of women to such occupations.

As usual, the assumption has grown out of a fog of conflicting opinion and a dearth of facts. "The stay of women in industry is so short as to make vocational training of little value." Well, just how long does she stay in industry? Is her stay in the manufacturing industries as long as it is in commercial industries, making her vocational training in either line, therefore, equally worth while or equally wasteful, or is there warrant for vocational training in one and not in the other? We have, as usual, figures for "selected groups,"—some of the figures so old as to be practically obsolete—showing that women in certain manufacturing industries stay only a little over four years, in stores about five years. We have other selected group occupations, including servants and dressmakers and other lines of employment wherein older women are found, showing a much longer period of service, but we have no comprehensive and current figures for big, well-defined and important branches of commerce and industry that will show the average period of service for the women therein.

Again: How long must an individual stay in industry to make vocational training worth while? We have all sorts of figures on the cost of training or "breaking in" a new worker, ranging from $40 to $200. Men stay in industry for the whole period of their vigorous maturity, yet employers complain of the expense of the high turnover of male labor or emphasize the saving possible if labor could be held steady for a year or more. Apparently, then, the fact that men spend all their mature years in industry, while the majority of women spend but the years before marriage, cannot serve as a measure of the relative value of vocational training for men and women. What it is necessary to know is the length of time a worker must spend in industry to warrant a reasonable return of the proposed investment in vocational training. Of course, in the plans consideration must be given to the probability, if not certainty, that vocational training will tend to stabilize higher grades of labor whether of men or of women.

It is equally necessary in formulating plans for the vocational training of women to eradicate the perennial outcroppings of traditions which have their origin in conditions prevailing before the development of factory methods of production. The most tenacious and destructive of these weeds are the assumptions that training in the clothing and weaving trades and allied occupations holds some peculiarly fitting qualities for woman's subsequent home life. Just how the running of a power sewing machine on overalls or bags or even dresses will fit a woman for the demands of household management, while driving the same kind of a machine in a gas mask or war balloon factory will unfit her for the same duties the advocates of vocational training for women in sewing trades and home arts do not take the trouble to explain.

What is sorely needed is a survey of the industrial field to determine which of the thousands of occupations involved in industrial processes are suited to women because of the requirements and general conditions. No more important survey could be undertaken by the women in Industry Bureau, which has just received statutory permanence. The women who are winning the vote for all women are winning too an influence which will be necessary to secure adequate funds for these surveys which are so essential to an effective program for the vocational training of women.

* * *

No one disputes the claim that education is the keystone in the arch of citizenship building, but baking and blacksmithing still bring a better price. According to the union scale of wages prevailing in 1918 in Cleveland and Chicago, bakers receive $365 more per year and blacksmiths $890 more than teachers in the elementary schools in the same cities. The last bulletin of the National Educational Association, however, offers some encouragement in its estimate that the campaign to increase the salaries of teachers and thus stem the torrential flow from the teaching profession has resulted in an addition of approximately $100,000,000 to the income of public school teachers in the United States. If the teaching force in the country were no larger than in 1910, this would mean an approximate average addition of $175 per year.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted by Alice Henry

A Candid Friend [1]

THE man who elects to take the woman question seriously soon finds he has some tough problems on his hands. Occasionally women find in him an uncritical admirer, and then his prophecies of what the new woman can and will accomplish are inspiring, albeit they lack a certain convincing ring. Or he may set himself to raise one of seven veils of tradition and convention, and dare to look on woman as he sees her. No goddess she, but just a plain human being, struggling against all sorts of difficulties, hampered in her thoughts and in her acts, and still witnessing by many a subterfuge and self-deception to the slave morality that has been imposed upon her, a social code inherited from the past, and clamped the more tightly because of the economic bond that makes of man the paymaster, and of woman the supported.

Mr. Algernon Tassin is of the second type of good friend, as you may have guessed, from his examination paper, set for suffragists and feminists, and printed in our May issue, under the title "Are You a Mermaid?" "The Craft of the Tortoise" is the fable, turned into a preface and four acts, of the slow and plodding tortoise winning the race over the swift, but over confident and erratic hare. His tortoise is woman, whom we find gaining over her partner and rival by steady perseverance, never diverted from her aim of strengthening her personal power, all the while displaying the most disarming submissiveness.

A Stage Play

The preface is of the class invented by Mr. Bernard Shaw, but surely not patented by him, through which the author is enabled to turn an acting play into a reading play. I hear some one. "O, you mean the converse." Not at all. The Shaw plays are stage plays, and so is this. But alas, even we who live in large cities with metropolitan theatres, are granted but sporadic opportunities of seeing such brilliant comedies, and small communities never. So the preface undertakes to achieve for the reader something of what performers do for the spectator, supply a vivifying interpretation, making up in some degree for the absence of the living voice, the moving gesture, and the reciprocal stimulus.

The play is well and ingeniously constructed. Its four acts are really four one-act plays, with what the writer would call the draperies of society varied according to the chronology, for they are timed in ages far apart. The curtain rises on the Desert of the Three Oases, with barbaric woman meeting her fate, and changing it—by persistence and tact. In the second act (or play) the Eastern Patriarch's head wife is busily engaged tearing polygamy to shreds, but leaving her husband—his concubines.

No Heroines

There are no heroines. The passive woman and the rebel woman who re-appear in each successive period are of the same flesh and blood, and if the one sister forges ahead, the other is dragged along in her train. Of the two it is the militant one who holds our admiration, as she holds her creator's interest, and yet it is she who is always the more inconsistent. The Emmeline, of whom we take leave on the last page is a twentieth century, self supporting girl. She is certainly what would be called an advanced woman in her thoughts and in the arrangement of her life. On the whole she is straight and fine and courageous. And yet in little ways she has no conscience about exploiting her men friends. She pays for what she gets, she tells us. But her ideas of repayment are somewhat confusing, as for instance, when she accepts expensive Biltmore dinners from young men who are just making their way, and feels that that is just as it should be, and that she can cancel all her responsibility by wiping out a lady's social debt—with a cup of tea.

Still, we close the book content, feeling that after all the tortoise *is* on the home stretch.

A Handbook of the Labor Movement [1]

A very much needed handbook has been brought out by Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard. "A Short History of the American Labor Movement" up to date of May, 1920. It contains all the most notable facts from the first tiny beginning of the American trade union in 1785. Though brief and charmingly simple, it summarizes the results of the most thorough investigation by others, such as "The History of Labor in the United States" by Professor Commons and his associates. Women who are just beginning the study of political and industrial problems will find in it material quite indispensable for their purpose, with abundant references to enable them to carry on their enquiries further. As the writer says "The labor movement has a deep spiritual and social significance. * * * * Indeed it takes on the form of a great social force akin to titanic forces in the natural world. For that reason, if for no other, it is better to study and to understand it, than blindly to praise it or rail at it." I should have been glad if Mrs. Beard had been able to give space in this volume to develop at length this fine and sympathetic interpretation of labor, as she is so well fitted to do, and I still look forward to such an interpretation from her.

[1] The Craft of the Tortoise. A play in four acts. By Algernon Tassin. Boni and Liveright, New York, 1919.

[1] A Short History of the American Labor Movement. Mary Beard. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920.

A Bibliography of Feminism

(*Continued from June issue*)

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Out of the Shadow, Rose Cohen. Doran, 1918. Quite a work of art, and the finest description of the life of the Russian Jewess, stepping from peasant life to the turmoil of our industrial cities that has ever come from any pen.

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National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d St., New York. Concentrates on the exploitation of child life by industry, from the cotton mills and the mines to the home finishing of the sewing trades and the unnatural life of the newsboy.

National Consumers' League, 105 East 22d St., New York. Issues literature on industrial evils, and legislative remedies. Also pushes the education of the consumer.

National League of Women Voters, 171 Madison Ave., New York. To be the new form into which the National American Woman Suffrage Association is transformed. Organ, "The Woman Citizen" (weekly).

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National Voters League, Woodward Bldg., Washington, D. C. Organ, "The Searchlight" (monthly), news of Congress and government departments.

National Woman's Party, 14 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Organ, "The Suffragist" (monthly).

National Women's Trade Union League, 64 West Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. Supplies information and publishes literature on women in industry, and the organized industrial movement among women. Organ, "Life and Labor" (monthly).

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Chivalry vs. Democracy In Louisiana

(*Continued from page* 139)

the excitement the night before, was in an ugly mood. It again refused to hear Mr. Raker and insisted on bringing the federal amendment instantly to a vote. The vote was taken in a house in which there was scarcely a member absent and crowded to the doors with vitally interested spectators. The vote stood 67 to 44 against ratification. Then immediately in an almost breathless silence the vote was taken on the resolution to reject the federal amendment. The resolution carried —60 to 39.

Reconsideration of the ratification resolution was rendered impossible on June 18, when Representative Myer was defeated in his attempt to introduce a measure identical with the one defeated three days before. Speaker Walker ruled that a majority consent of the House was necessary before such a measure could be introduced. This was refused by a standing vote of 18 to 61, with only 13 members calling for a roll call. Since the antis control a majority of both Houses, reconsideration of the federal amendment in the future is thus rendered impossible.

On the same day (June 18) a motion to reconsider the state rights suffrage bill was carried in the Senate by a vote of 18 to 12, Tuesday, June 29, being fixed as the date for the final vote on the bill.

And so in spite of the urgent request of our Democratic President, himself a southerner, in spite of the pleading of both national and state Democratic leaders that Louisiana stand by her party, the Louisiana legislature has gone on record as the sixth southern Democratic legislature to refuse justice to the women not only of Louisiana but of the nation. Southern chivalry laughs today but tomorrow is Democracy's.

Anne Calvert Neely,
National Organizer.

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323 E. Main St., Malone
32d—Dr. Harriet Doane, Fulton
33d—Mrs. Isabella De Angelis
The Orbiston Apts., Utica
34th—Miss Gertrude Keegan
Mutual Security Bldg., Binghampton
35th—Mrs. F. R. Hazard
Upland Farm, Syracuse
36th—Mrs. Milton Sanderson
32 State St., Seneca Falls
37th—Mrs. Laura Collins. Harnell
38th and 39th—Mrs. Mary Ertz Will
163 Saratoga Ave., Rochester
40th—Mrs. R. M. Fotheringham
410 Bird Ave., Buffalo
41st—Mrs. A. R. Preston
43 Norwood Ave., Buffalo
42d—Mrs. F. W. Kendall
Hamburg, N. Y.
43d—Mrs. Joseph Reiger
519 Central Ave., Dunkirk

Ohio

1st—Mrs. C. H. Adler
3637 Alaska Ave., Cincinnati
2d—Mrs. G. B. Twitchell
845 Dayton St., Cincinnati
3d—Mrs. Frank R. Henry
374 West First Street, Dayton
7th—Mrs. George Dial
307 E. High St., Springfield
12th—Miss Mary Brandon
1220 Madison Ave., Columbus
21st—Mrs. Royce D. Fry
Care Dr. Fry, 869 Rose Building,
Cleveland
22d—Miss Gertrude C. McLeland
West Mentor, Cleveland Heights

Oklahoma

1st—Mrs. Carolyn Smith Heid
Care of Empire Refineries, Tulsa
5th—Mrs. Miriam Oatman Blachly
512 University Blvd., Norman

Oregon

1st—Mrs. J. G. Richardson
1355 State St., Salem
2d—Mrs. Stephen A. Lowell
Box 436, Pendleton

Pennsylvania

1st—Mrs. M. Jacob
1316 S. 5th St., Philadelphia
2d—Miss Fanny Travis Cochran
131 S. 22d St., Philadelphia
3d—Mrs. D. S. Zelmanoff
220 Vine St., Philadelphia
4th— Mrs. Mary Mallock Greenwalt
1424 Master St., Philadelphia
5th—Mrs. Eleanor B. Arrison
1508 Oxford St., Philadelphia
6th—Mrs. Archibald R. Harmon
5247 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia
8th—Miss Lewellyn M. Clinton
Wyncote
11th—Miss Laura Stull,
Stoddardtsville
12th—Miss Joan L. Brumn
509 Front St., Minersville
16th—Miss Mary Stecker, Milton
17th—Mrs. Grace G. Kempter
Chambersburg
18th—Mrs. Mabel Cronise Jones
105 Locust St., Harrisburg
29th—Mrs. A. M. Peterson
56 Grant Ave., Bellevue
30th—Miss Lois Rankin
5712 Baum Blvd., Pittsburgh

Rhode Island

3d—Mrs. W. Maxwell Reed
389 Blackstone St., Woonsocket

South Carolina

1st—Miss Susan P. Frost
57 Broad St., Charleston
4th—Miss R. P. Webster, Greenville
7th—Mrs. Norman H. Bull,
Orangeburg

South Dakota

1st—Mrs. Frank Weller
408 4th Ave., Mitchell
2d—Mrs. J. E. Bird
Care of Nat'l Sunshine Society
Watertown

Tennessee

1st—Mrs. R. B. Cook
Soldiers' Home, Johnston City
2d—Mrs. M. L. Dane
561 Margrave St., Harriman
4th—Mrs. Prudence Dresser, Gallatin
10th—Mrs. Isaac Reese
510 Vance Avenue, Memphis

Texas

4th— Miss Irene Nevill, Bonham
8th—Mrs. C. A. Teagle
405 Hathaway Ave., Houston
9th—Mrs. J. H. Smith, Yoakum
10th—Mrs. J. F. Pearce
2607 University Ave., Austin
12th—Mrs. C. G. Staats,
Arlington Heights, Ft. Worth
14th—Mrs. Rena Maverick Green
324 Ogden St., San Antonio.
16th—Mrs. Charles DeGroff
Hotel Orndorff, El Paso

Vermont

1st—Mrs. L. A. Heidel, Rutland
2nd—Mrs. Robert Bliss, Montpelier

Virginia

1st—Mrs. W. R. Jennings
Newport News
2d—Mrs. Pauline Adams
601 Colonial Ave., Norfolk
3d—Mrs. R. F. Hudson
1107 West Ave., Richmond
4th—Mrs. Y. T. Snyder
438 N. Washington St., Petersburg
5th—Miss Florence Pennybaker
Virgilina
6th—Mrs. Dexter Otey
R. F. D. No. 4, Lynchburg
8th—Mrs. Henry Lockwood
Clarendon
9th—Mrs. Chas. Bondurant
St. Charles.
10th—Mrs. Anna Jones, Appomattox

Washington

1st—Mrs. E. M. Rhodes
County Building, Seattle.
3d—Mrs. William P. Trowbridge
R. F. D. No. 1, South Tacoma
4th— Mrs. H. M. Gilbert, Yakima

West Virginia

3d—Mrs. U. A. Vincent
Morgantown

Wisconsin

1st—Mrs. Kate Richardson
Box 832, Milton
2d—Mrs. Cora Weuthrick
1511 S. 8th St., Sheboygan
3d—Mrs. H. V. Thompsen
Richland Center
4th-5th—Mrs. Bertha Hansen
Trompetter
3000 Grand Ave., Milwaukee
6th—Miss Sarah James
96 High St., Oshkosh
8th—Mrs. George B. Atwell
1016 Clark St., Stevens Point
9th—Mrs. A. V. Martineau, Oconto
10th—Miss Mary Burt Messer
Stout Institute, Menominie
11th—Mrs. H. V. Hawley
Grantsburg

History of the Amendment

In Congress

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification to Date

States Which Have Ratified the Amendment

(Those starred ratified at Special Sessions).

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	House
1	Wisconsin	R	R	June 10	24–1	54–2
2	*Michigan	R	R	June 10	Unan.	Unan.
3	*Kansas	R	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
4	*Ohio	D	R	June 16	27–3	73–6
5	*New York	D	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
6	Illinois	R	R	June 17	Unan.	133–4
7	Pennsylvania	R	R	June 24	32–6	153–44
8	Massachusetts	R	R	June 25	34–5	184–77
9	*Texas	D	D	June 29	Unan.	96–21
10	*Iowa	R	R	July 2	Unan.	95–5
11	*Missouri	D	Div.'d.	July 3	28–3	125–4
12	*Arkansas	D	D	July 20	20–2	76–17
13	*Montana	D	R	July 30	38–1	Unan.
14	*Nebraska	R	R	Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
15	*Minnesota	R	R	Sept. 8	60–5	120–6
16	*New Hampshire	R	R	Sept. 10	14–10	212–143
17	*Utah	D	D	Sept. 30	Unan.	Unan.
18	*California	R	R	Nov. 1	Unan.	73–2
19	*Maine	R	R	Nov. 5	24–5	72–68
20	*North Dakota	R	R	Dec. 1	38–4	103–6
21	*South Dakota	R	R	Dec. 4	Unan.	Unan.
22	*Colorado	R	R	Dec. 12	Unan.	Unan.
23	Rhode Island	R	R	Jan. 6	37–1	89–3
24	Kentucky	R	Div'd.	Jan. 6	30–8	72–25
25	*Oregon	R	R	Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
26	*Indiana	R	R	Jan. 16	43–3	Unan.
27	*Wyoming	R	R	Jan. 27	Unan.	Unan.
28	*Nevada	D	Div'd.	Feb. 7	Unan.	Unan.
29	New Jersey	D	R	Feb. 10	18–2	34–24
30	*Idaho	R	R	Feb. 11	29–6	Unan.
31	*Arizona	R	D	Feb. 12	Unan.	Unan.
32	*New Mexico	R	R	Feb. 19	17–5	36–10
33	*Oklahoma	D	D	Feb. 27		
34	*West Virginia	D	R	March 10	15–14	47–40
35	*Washington	R	R	March 22	Unan.	Unan.

Now in Regular Session

Louisiana	D	D	Met May 10, 1920.
Georgia	D	D	" June 23, 1920.

States Which Have Defeated the Amendment

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	House
1	Alabama	D	D	Sept. 2	18–13	No vote
2	Georgia	D	D	July 24	39–8	118–20
3	Mississippi	D	D	Jan. 21	23–22(For)	96–23
4	South Carolina	D	D	Jan. 24	No vote	93–21
5	Virginia	D	D	Feb. 12	24–10	62–22
6	Maryland	D	D	Feb. 17	18–9	64–36
7	Delaware	R	R	June 3	11-6 (For)	24-10
8	Louisiana	D	D	June 15	23-19	67-44

States Which Have Not Acted

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Connecticut	R	R	No regular session this year.
2	Vermont	R	R	No regular session this year.
3	North Carolina	D	D	Special session expected in July.
4	Florida	D	D	No regular session this year.
5	Tennessee	D	D	No regular session this year.

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